



Fig. 1. Sir Joseph Banks. Mezzotint by J. R. Smith after a now lost portrait by Benjamin West, exhibited at the Royal Academy. Reproduced by Maiden 1909. Sir Joseph wears a New Zealand cloak corresponding to one of those donated to the Alströmer brothers. A Tahiti adze like the one below right and a club glimpsed under the handle also have their parallels in the collection. Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London.

THE BANKS COLLECTION

An Episode in 18th-Century Anglo-Swedish

Relations

BY

STIG RYDÉN

THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM OF SWEDEN, STOCKHOLM
(STATENS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM)

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ALMQVIST & WIKSELL

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To Ingvar

FOREWORD

THE Swedish Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm is sometimes referred to — not altogether inaccurately — as “the packing-case museum”. Its collections have never been exhibited in their entirety. When portions of them have been displayed it has been in temporary exhibitions, often on premises rented for the occasion. Both the original museum and the present buildings, which even in their days as cavalry barracks were condemned as provisory quarters, have served chiefly as store-houses for the packed-down collections. And yet the museum is one of the earliest and largest of its kind in the world. As early as 1912, Erland Nordenskiöld, the famous explorer of South America, pointedly commented: “Animals, plants and stones are given their palaces. In *man* the Swedes take no interest.” (*Nordenskiöld*, 1912, p. 5). Things have not improved, even though the matter has been discussed on a number of occasions (e.g. *von Rosen* 1931; *Norrköpings-Tidningen* — *Östergötlands Dagblad* 1961).

In these circumstances, delving into the un-exhibited collections of the museum provides something of the enchantment of a voyage of exploration to distant, unknown lands. The same sort of wistfulness is experienced when, on such an expedition, early peoples are met in their original, uncontaminated environment, the wistfulness occasioned by a phase in man's history that is now doomed simply because it represents something primitive. Ethnographic specimens record this unhappy development step by step, reminding us of peoples that almost without exception have succumbed to the superiority of the white man's civilisation. Now that they have disappeared one would think that the records of them and of their way of life — perhaps a happier one than ours — deserve a more dignified repository than a packing-case. Otherwise the heirs of the original makers of these exhibits, the emergent extra-European nations, would perhaps be fully justified in reclaiming them.

This book is the result of an exploratory voyage through such a storehouse. The venerable age of the collection discussed has long been

realised, but no light has previously been shed on the circumstances surrounding its acquisition. The establishing of its origin with Sir Joseph Banks on Cook's first voyage, the charting of its subsequent peregrinations up to its acquisition by the Ethnographical Museum, and the search for episodes and phases of development connected with its individual items, all of these have been a source of continuous excitement. The joy felt by the explorer at discovering something new and unknown has to some extent alleviated his dismay and embarrassment that these objects — valuable not only historically but in terms of cold cash — are not and cannot be available to public view within the foreseeable future.

Apart from certain specimens from New Zealand and one or two others, the objects in the Banks Collection are far from unknown, purely ethnographically. They are, however, worth their weight in gold, simply because they are no longer obtainable on the international market. They comprise the oldest South Seas collection of ethnographical extant.

The interest of the objects in the Banks Collection is thus mainly to be sought in their history, i.e. the time and juncture of their acquisition coupled with the circumstances surrounding their transfer to Sweden.

The origin of the collection has been traced beyond reasonable doubt to Sir Joseph Banks, the bulk of it having been collected by himself and his assistant Daniel Solander, a Swedish citizen and a pupil of Linnaeus, during Captain Cook's first voyage in the *Endeavour* 1768—71. Daniel Solander was the fellow student and intimate friend of a quartet of brothers from a prominent Swedish family, Patrik, August, Clas and Johan Alströmer, who were well-to-do industrialists and owners of Sweden's most outstanding "cabinet of naturalia". The evidence of the collection's origin in London, though scanty, is definitive, while the circumstances fully warrant the assumption that Daniel Solander was the chief instrument in its transfer to the Alströmer brothers.

The Banks Collection, incorporated at the time with the various objects in the Alströmer family museum, is now the chief portion of the original "Alströmer Collection", donated in 1848 to the Royal Swedish Academy of Science and subsequently housed in the Ethnographical Museum. Apart from the Banks Collection proper a number of objects from other sources, and also forming part of the original Alströmer Collection, are included in the inventory list. Description of the Banks specimens is here restricted mainly to what Sir Joseph and Captain Cook themselves have to say as to e.g. the manufacture and use

of the object concerned, the circumstances in which it was acquired from the natives, and so on. The background to their acquisition by the Alströmer family is also considered in some detail, and the correspondence of Johan Alströmer during his stay in London 1777—78 is a valuable source here. It also provides some intriguing sidelights on life in England in those days. The quotations as given are in translation, and some attempt has been made to preserve a little of the flavour of the 18th century Swedish, increasingly Germanised, and interspersed with the French expressions (often misspelt) then in fashion among the cultured classes on the European continent.

It would, perhaps, have been preferable if we could have published also the ethnographical objects that have found their way to the Alströmer Museum via other persons than Banks (e.g. Swedish travellers to the East Indies) and which are now part of the Alströmer donation in the Ethnographical Museum. The publication of all that remains of the Alströmer family's museum would then have been complete, the herbarium (with plants collected by Linnaeus and his son) having been earlier published (*Lindman* 1908, cf. p. 12). A presentation of these objects is being written, but will be published at a later date. There have been included here, on the other hand, objects that have erroneously been ascribed to Banks South Seas collection, plus one object, a fishing-rod, acquired by Johan Alströmer in connection with his visit to Banks.

I am greatly indebted to Captain Baron J. P. Alströmer of Östad Manor for his courtesy in placing at my disposal the section of the Alströmer family archives kept in the Provincial Archives in Gothenburg and here referred to as the Östad archives, and to Dr. Gösta Lext, head of the Provincial Archives for the valuable aid extended to me in my study of these archives. I would like to thank also Dr. Gustaf Holmgren of the Upsala University Library for similar assistance in connection with the section of the Alströmer archives kept in that library.

Acknowledgement is also due to Mr. Gunnar Nykvist of the Ethnographical Museum for his tireless exertions in the recovery of such objects in the Alströmer Collection as had gone astray and all but vanished in the numerous packing-cases — about 800 altogether — distributed throughout the Museum's improvised quarters.

My thanks are due also to Mr. Keith Bradfield, Mr. S. Peterson-Weld and Mr. Carl Ph. Mae who have made the translation from the Swedish and to Mr. Adrian Digby and Mr. B. A. L. Cranstone of the British Museum, Mr. S. P. Dance, The Linnean Society, M. W. F. von Wachenfelt, Agricultural Counsellor to The Royal Swedish Embassy, London,

and Brigadier and Mrs. *C. H. V. Vaughan*, D. S. C. of Nannau, Dolgelly, N. Wales, Dr. *Karl Erik Larsson*, Ethnographical Museum, Gothenburg, Mr. *Ernest Standley Dodge* of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Dr. *H. D. Skinner* of the Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand, Dr. *Arvid Hj. Uggla* and Mr. *Rolf Du Rietz*, Upsala, Miss *Hella Appeltofft*, Miss *Britta Rydbeck* and Mrs. *Rudi Teppel*, Dr. *Jan Söderström*, The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, Dr. *Arvid Bäckström*, Mr. *Harald Faith-Ell*, *Gösta Linné*, B. Med., Stockholm, whose valuable assistance has made possible the publishing of this study.

Stockholm, August 1962

S. Rydén

THE ALSTRÖMER DONATION OF 1848

Since 1848 the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm has had in its possession a collection of ethnographica, mainly from the South Seas, known as "the Alströmer Collection" and catalogued as 1848: 1. Apart from the annotation "Donation by Alströmer", the catalogue gives no information as to the origin of the collection. An appended list headed "*Copy of Copy*", its language dating it to about the end of the 18th century, tells us, however, that five of the objects had arrived by Swedish East India-men. It is this that may have prompted the subsequent erroneous annotation in the catalogue to the effect that the entire collection had been assembled by "Chancellery Councillor Clas Alströmer . . . when he made a voyage to East India as supercargo" (cf. p. 20).

The Ethnographical Museum comes under the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and the records of the Academy for the year 1848 include in the minutes of a meeting held on Sept. 13th of that year a passage that runs as follows:

"Upon notification that the Barons Alströmer have presented to the Royal Academy a large collection of Botanical, Zoological and Ethnographical objects, which are further specified in the lists below, the Royal Academy decided that a Letter of Thanks should be despatched from the Royal Academy to the Barons Alströmer."

Unfortunately the "lists" do not mention the "Ethnographical objects" at all, only

"... an herbarium of 4500 species collected by Baron Clas Alströmer, by Linnaeus the Elder et al. (only 250 species undamaged)."

As will be seen, the information available on this herbarium provides the essential links in our identification of the ethnographical collection.

Under the heading "Botanical Department", the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences for 1848 (*Öfversigt af Kongl. Vetenskaps Akademiens förhandlingar* 1849 p. 154) supplies the following information:

"From Barons O. and J. Alströmer.¹⁾

An herbarium of some 4500 species mounted on foolscap, formerly the property of

¹⁾ The Christian names of the donors are indicated only by their initials, and there is some doubt as to their identity. The persons referred to are probably Royal Secretary Jonas Alströmer 1807–91) and his brother Governor etc. Carl Jonas Oskar Alströmer (1811–88). The initial J, however, also fits two other brothers, Jonas Patrick (1803–59) and Nils Jonas Claes August (1810–67). Cf. the genealogical table, Fig. 2, p. 14.

the late Baron Clas Alströmer, who in the course of his extensive travels himself collected a considerable proportion thereof. It contains, besides, numerous species furnished by Linnaeus the Elder and named by himself, and the collection of plants privately owned by Linnaeus the Younger during his youth and received by Baron Alströmer as reimbursement for the funds advanced by him to Linnaeus the Younger during his foreign travels. For the rest, numerous plants donated by Osbeck, König, Thunberg, Swartz, Vahl and Dahl,²⁾ who has written the names in the collection. In that this herbarium has probably lacked every care since the demise of Baron Clas Alströmer in 1794, the European species particularly have been damaged to varying extent by insects, but the plants from warmer lands are perfectly preserved in undamaged condition. Some 250 species can be regarded as an accretion to the collections of the Botanical Museum."

This statement is complemented by a passage in C. A. M. Lindman's account of the Botanical Department in the History of the National Museum of Natural History (*Naturhistoriska Riksmuseets Historia* 1916, pp. 99—100):

"Among the Museum's 18th century collections this (herbarium) is a very valuable complement to the herbaria of Montin³⁾ and Swartz. The *herbarium parvum* in particular makes it the Department's richest collection of Linnaean specimens. In the Linnaean herbarium compiled by the Department in 1905 from the herbaria just mentioned the authentic Linnaean specimens in certain families are as numerous as in the great Linnaean herbarium in London."

²⁾ *Osbeck, Pehr* (1723—1805). Swedish pupil of Linnaeus. Made a voyage as ship's chaplain to China, via Cadiz, the Cape and Java, and brought home collections of some size. *Koenig, Johan Gerhard* (1728—1785). Danish pupil of Linnaeus, botanist and physician. *Thunberg, Carl Peter* (1743—1828). Swedish natural scientist. Succeeded Linnaeus the Younger as Professor of Botany at Upsala University in 1784. Renowned for his field studies in South Africa and Japan 1770—79. *Swartz, Olof* (1760—1818). Swedish botanist, known for his botanical studies in the West Indies 1784—86. *Vahl, Martin* (1749—1804). Pupil of Linnaeus, born in Norway, Professor of Botany in Copenhagen. *Dahl, Anders* (1751—1789). Swedish pupil of Linnaeus, lecturer at Åbo (Turkku), Finland. Employed for some time by the Alströmer family as curator of their museum (cf. p. 55).

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MENTION BY MIRANDA

In 1787 Francisco de Miranda, liberator *in spe* of South America, visited Sweden and stayed with Clas Alströmer (cf. p. 21) on his estate of Gåsevadholm near Kungsbacka (Fig. 13). In the exhaustive diary he kept during his visit he mentions (*Archivo del General Miranda* 1929, p. 87, *Miranda i Sverige och Norge* 1950, pp. 246—247) that on Dec. 4th:

"We took tea together at 9 o'clock, whereupon the ladies and the Baron himself accompanied me to the cabinet with the shells and the insects, which make a very beautiful collection. *Countless curiosities from Othahity, New Holland etc.* (Editor's italics) and a library of 10,000 volumes . . ."

In his entry for the following day Miranda also mentions the herbarium:

"Breakfast at 9 o'clock and then to view a very fine mineral collection . . . Many quadrupeds and birds, and above all a collection of more than 13,000 most interesting plants. We were occupied all forenoon until as late as 2 o'clock."

This tells us that both the herbarium and the ethnographical collection were included in Clas Alströmer's "cabinet of naturalia" and that this collection was in his possession as early as in 1787.

Clas Alströmer died without issue in 1794. A younger half-brother Johan, of whom we shall hear a great deal in the following, had died in 1786, the year prior to Miranda's visit to Sweden. An elder brother Patrick, also mentioned in the following, was still alive and his most immediate heir. Yet it was the latter's son Jonas who received the Alströmer cabinet of naturalia, at that time the most outstanding private museum in Sweden. Clas Alströmer's and his wife Sara Sahlgren's last will and testament, preserved in the Östad archives, stipulates:

"... that our beloved Brother's and Brother-in-law's son, Baron Jonas Alströmer¹⁾ is bequeathed as private property our Library, our collections of Naturalia and all our Machines, Instruments and Models, together with two fifths of all the remainder of both our estates."

¹⁾ This Jonas Alströmer had married the granddaughter of his paternal and maternal uncles, Anna Margareta Silfverschiöld (1785—1838), granddaughter of August Alströmer, thus further strengthening his hereditary claims. His sole cousin, Sara Magdalena Alströmer (1784—1813), at that time only 10 years old, had been deprived of all hereditary claims to the Alströmer Museum by the terms of her father's will (cf. genealogy p. 14).

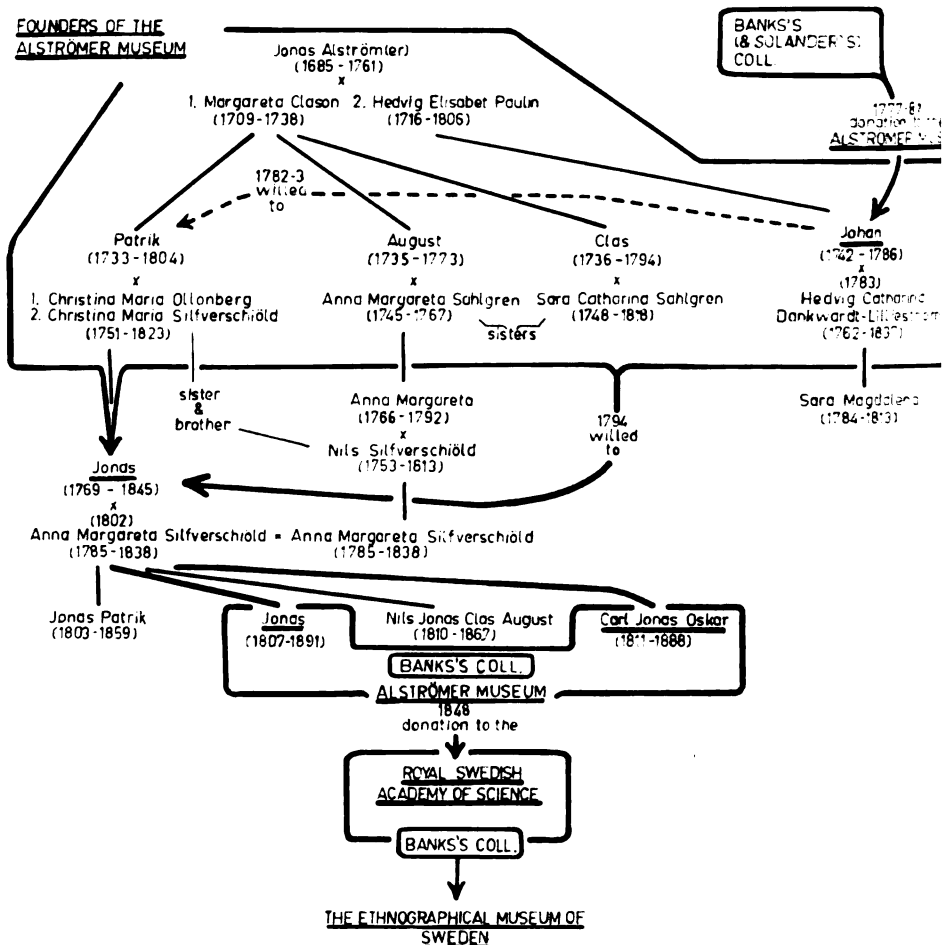


Fig. 2. Table showing the origins at the Alströmer Museum was and the route taken by the Banks Collection before its transfer to the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm. Certain members of the Alströmer family, who died in their early youth are omitted.

In a collection of notes in the same archive, entitled "Stipulations by Herr Chancellery Councillor Baron Clas Alströmer, made in the year 1794 and observed since his death" (*Förordnanden af Herr Cancelli-Rådet Friherre Clas Alströmer som blivit iakttagne efter Dess död, gjorde år 1794*), it is plain that the aging Alströmer was apprehensive for the future fate of his museum. Linnaeus's great herbarium and other collections of naturalia had been acquired, together with his correspondence etc., by the Englishman James Edward Smith, and their loss was generally lamented in Sweden at this time:

"It shall further be noted here how, when the Herr Chancellery Councillor died without issue by his surviving widow Sara Catherina Sahlgren, he bequeathed by his Testament his great Library with all its Collections of Naturalia, and his Instruments, Models, Medals, Engravings et al. to the Herr Secretary Baron Jonas Alströmer, son to the late Herr Chancellery Councillor's elder brother the Herr Commercial Councillor Baron Patrick Alströmer, Knight of the Royal Order of Wasa; to the end that these Collections, in both their variety and in the Principal item, which was the Natural History and the Economy, the largest of their kind in Private hands in the nation, might not suffer the fate that in our time has visited several, in particular the Linnaean Collection, but remain in Entail within the Baronial House of Alströmer."

Patrick,²⁾ Clas and Johan Alströmer were, like their father, members of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. In the memorial address delivered before the Academy on June 1st 1796 by Clas Alströmer's friend *Dubb* (1796, pp. 56—59), the speaker mentions that Jonas Alströmer had assumed responsibility for the family's private museum³⁾. Again, some apprehension is felt for the future of the collection:

"This richness was not acquired of vainglory, nor for the adornment of empty walls; discrimination and love of the sciences, conjoined with Patriotism, have laboured thereon, nor counted the cost: and the late Herr Baron and Chancellery Councillor would for the first time have been guilty of vanity, and disavowed the nature and ability of his Nephew, Chancellor of the Royal Administration of the Interior, Baron Jonas Alströmer, had he meant only to join the gift of all this to the name of Alströmer. The worth and duties accompanying both are known moreover by him with such knowledge as activates the will; it is thus to be hoped that true Patriotism and the Sciences have nought to fear. Hence endeavour is now being made at Haneström on Gotha River near Edet to raise such buildings as are presently needed for the preservation of this treasure."

The Alströmer family owned a number of other large country properties, apart from Gåsevadholm and Haneström, but was at the same time heavily involved in Swedish industry and commerce, and thus also in Swedish foreign trade. The tense political situation in the world at the turn of the 18th century put the Alströmer finances to a severe test. Certain ventures aimed at developing trade with the former North American colonies, which had just severed their ties with England, resulted in heavy losses (cf. pp. 39, 48). The Alingsås factories, the Alströmer family's earliest and most profitable enterprises, had already begun to lose money following a change in the government's attitude to the development of Sweden's economic resources. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the question of the cabinet and its maintenance was pushed into the background. The projected museum at Haneström

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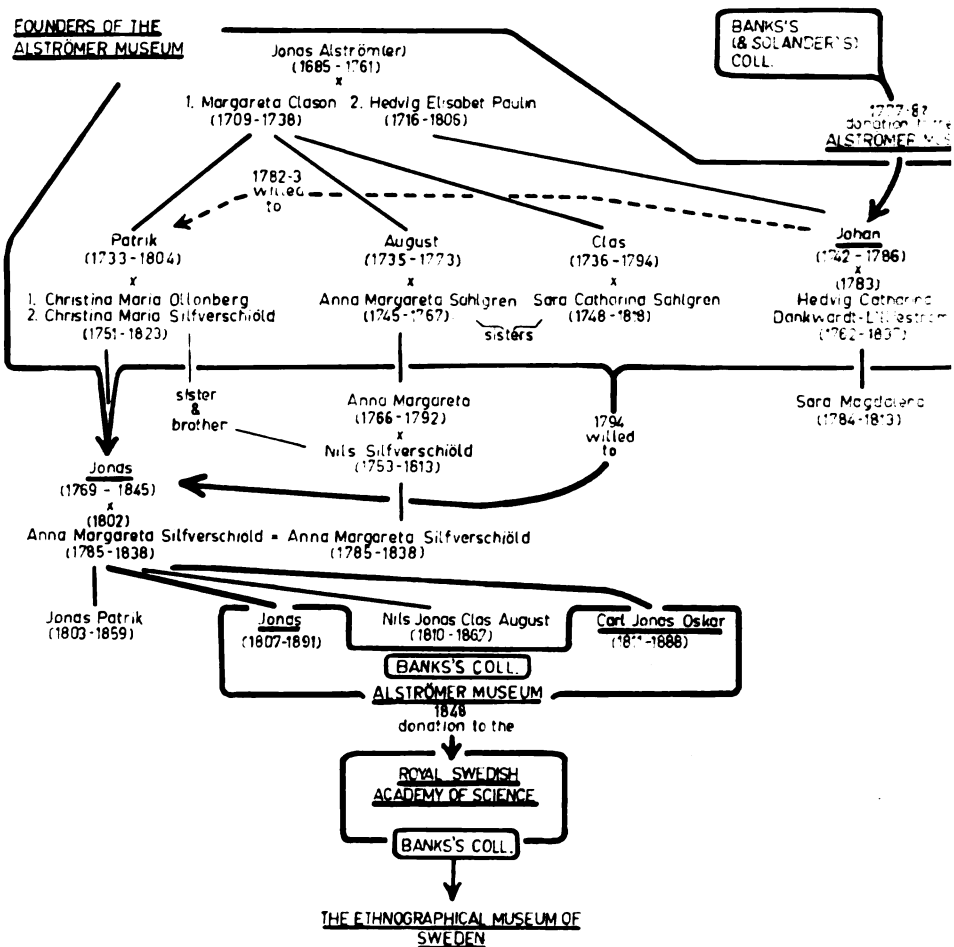


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was never realised (*Hollman* s.a.). The upkeep of the collections was neglected. At the same time the craze for this sort of collection — a direct result of the French Age of Enlightenment and above all of the scientific achievements of Linnaeus — was subsiding, in Sweden as elsewhere. The death of Linnaeus himself in 1778 may have contributed to the neglect of the Alströmer collections, and explains also the miserable condition of the herbarium on its transfer to the Royal Academy of Science in 1848. The great library, on the other hand, is still in the possession of the heirs, and is kept on the Silfverskiöld family estate of Koberg, one of the earlier Alströmer family properties.

Baron Jonas Alströmer, who inherited the collection in 1794, died in 1845. Three years later two of his sons, Jonas and Oskar, donated whatever was left of Clas Alströmer's herbarium, together with the ethnographical collection, to the Royal Academy. That less attention is paid to the latter in the official records is explained by the fact that the ethnographical collections of the Academy were not yet handled by a separate, independent institution. Minor collections of mineralia, etc. are still in the possession of the Alströmer family.⁴⁾

The above leaves us in no doubt but that the South Seas specimens in the Alströmer donation of 1848 are identical with the "curiosities" noted in 1778 by General Miranda in Clas Alströmer's museum at Gåsevadholm. Let us now try to trace the origin and earlier history of these objects.

How the Alströmers acquired the collection will be discussed later.

⁴⁾ *Näsström* 1962 p. 237, *Miranda* . . . 1787, 1950 Fig. 147.



Fig. 3. Director Johan Alströmer (1742 – 1786). Painting by J. Forslund. Koberg Castle. Svenska Porträttarkivet, Stockholm.

JONAS ALSTRÖMER'S CABINET OF NATURALIA

The Alströmers, then, were a prominent family in Swedish industry and commerce. In the latter half of the 18th century they played a distinguished role also in the cultural life of the country.

The founder of the family enterprises in Alingsås in western Sweden, Jonas Alström (Fig. 8) — the family name was later slightly modified — was born in that town in 1685. The years 1710—23 he spent in London, as a ship's broker, merchant and Swedish consul (*Rydberg* 1951, p. 87 ff.). It can be mentioned also that Alströmer purchased in England in 1717 a ship of 26 guns, the *de Olbing Galley*, which later operated from Gothenburg as a privateer, and helped keep Swedish shipping open to the west during the final desperate years of Charles XII's campaigns (*Traung* 1952, p. 87, *Sandklef* 1962).

Returning to his homeland with considerable capital and equally valuable experience he started certain "manufactories" — spinning and weaving mills etc. — at Alingsås.¹⁾ Sheep farms were created to supply wool to his mills and to improve the standard of the wool.²⁾ Gradually, he and his sons acquired several large properties which were turned into experimental model farms. The proximity of Gothenburg, Sweden's "gateway to the West" soon led him to establish connections with the merchants there, and he maintained at the same time his ties with England, a policy subsequently pursued also by his sons (*Rydberg* 1951). Of all that Jonas Alströmer did to improve the Swedish economy we shall mention here only the thing for which he is chiefly remembered by posterity, namely his introduction of the potato, and his zealous efforts to popularise its cultivation and use in Sweden, in which endeavour he was whole-heartedly supported by his sons. He was profoundly interested in, and a generous patron of, various sciences, particularly — in the true spirit of the French Enlightenment — if they were

¹⁾ These came in time to play a decisive part in the gradual development of Sweden into an industrial nation.

²⁾ One of his sons, Clas Alströmer, started on a journey through Europe (cf. p. 20) to study sheep-raising and the manufacture of textiles, and to investigate the chances of importing the longer-haired Spanish Merino breed.

likely to open up new prospects for the Swedish economy. When the Royal Academy was established in 1739 Jonas Alström, like Linnaeus, was one of the founders. For his distinguished public services he was raised to the nobility in 1751, under the name of *Alströmer*. He died in 1761.

Among Jonas Alströmer's great services to science must be counted also the establishment of a large family library and museum at Alingsås. This came into being not simply to further the interests of the family but, like the Academy he helped to create, "to contribute to the improvement and propagation of the sciences" and "to disseminate knowledge of new inventions, discoveries and experiments". The library plus museum was in fact a semi-official institution. The keeper of the museum and library appointed by Jonas Alströmer — the learned pupil of Linnaeus and physician Jonas Theodor Fagraeus (1729—1797, cf. *Stenström* 1932) — could thus reply in a letter dated Alingsås Dec. 30th 1767 (i.e. after the death of Jonas Alströmer), having received an enquiry concerning the museum and library, in the following words (*Kongl. Bibliotekets Tidningar om Lärda Saker* 1786, p. 115):

"To this end he did continually enlarge with unbelievable effort and cost this his Library, patronized Men of Letters and opened to the inquisitive Inhabitants of all this Vicinity such a copious fount of Wisdom. Such was the origin of the great *Alströmer Library*, now comprising 956 Folios, 2554 Quartos, 4060 Octavos, 1915 Duodecimos, a sum of 9475 Volumes, besides an important Collection of Drawings, Engravings, Naturalia, Coins and Objets d'art; all of which the late Herr Commercial Councillor and Knight established not to the favour and advantage of his Heirs but more intended as a Country Library and Collection to be eternally increased by his descendants and used by all Neighbours as love Knowledge, to the edification and enlightenment of the surrounding Countryside."

ALSTRÖMER'S SONS AND THE FAMILY MUSEUM

Jonas Alströmer's four sons — Patrick (1733—1804), August (1735—1773), Clas (1736—1794) and their half-brother Johan (1742—1786) — were of the same scientific temper as their father.

Patrick Alströmer (Fig. 9) became a director of the Alingsås manufacturing and farms in 1751, and managing director in 1756. In 1776 he became partner in the famous merchant house of Niklas Sahlgren (1701—1776) in Gothenburg,¹ and in the following year one of the directors of the Swedish East India Company. In 1772 he was one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, and from 1774 a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. In the same year he was appointed Vice-Governor of the province of Älvsborg, where the family enterprises were situated. In 1770 he was awarded the title of Commercial Councillor, and in 1778 he was raised, with his brother Clas, to the baronial estate. In 1758 he made a journey to Russia. As representative of the Alströmer family in the House of Nobility he took part in the deliberations of the States General,² which brought him into contact with the Court and advisers of King Gustavus III. We shall return later to the opportunity this gave him of influencing Sweden's attitude to England. Fagraeus (see above) says of him (*Kongl. Bibliotekets Tidningar om Lärda Saker* 1786, p. 116).

"And inasmuch as the Herr Director besides his Principal Occupation, the Manufactories, has had a keen taste for Chemistry and Music, so our Town has him to thank for the most perfect Library, and the most choice Instruments in these subjects."

August Alströmer (Fig. 10) had least to do, of all the brothers, with the ethnographical South Seas collection. In 1759, however, he spent some time in England (*Rydberg* 1951, p. 112), and the contacts he made there may have facilitated the later visit (1777—78) of his younger half-brother Johan. At the time of August Alströmer's visit Daniel

¹ Like his brother Clas he was son-in-law to Sahlgren (cf. genealogy p. 14).

² The Swedish Riksdag was at this time divided up into four "Estates" representing the nobility, the priesthood, the burghers and the peasants. The Noble Estate — the "House of Nobility" — was made up of one representative from each noble family in the country.

Solander³) who played an essential part in the transfer of the ethnographical collection discussed into Swedish possession, had not yet arrived, and in a letter from England to his brother Patrick (dated August 17th, 1759), August wrote:

"Could you not tell where Solander is. People here are in great anxiety for him because he has not written for a long while. Miller⁴) asks much after him."

Solander in fact was then lying ill in Malmö in South Sweden, and was finding it difficult to arrange a passage (*Uggla* 1955, pp. 25—31). August Alströmer, however, assiduously applied himself to adding to the library and collections. In the letter quoted, for instance, he mentions that he had forwarded a collection of shells to Gothenburg.

In 1771 Chancery Councillor Clas Alströmer (Fig. 11), after serving in various government offices, became a partner in Sahlgren's firm (as mentioned, he was Sahlgren's son-in-law). 1760—64 he had travelled widely in Europe (cf. p. 153), acquiring numerous additions to the family museum. On this occasion he also visited England (*Rydberg* 1951, p. 112), and his half-brother Johan was able in England some ten years later to renew relations with a number of Clas Alströmer's friends, including nurseryman James Lee.⁵) Clas Alströmer began his travels with a passage to Cadiz, on board a Swedish East India-man. It was probably this that occasioned the erroneous annotation in the catalogue to the South Seas collection to the effect that he travelled to China as supercargo on one of the East India Company's ships, and in this way assembled the whole collection (cf. p. 11). A plaited carpet in the collections of the Alströmer Museum stems from Clas Alströmer's visit to Spain. This carpet was later erroneously given in the catalogue as Australian (cf. p. 102).

In 1768 Clas Alströmer became a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. Fagraeus says of him (*Kongl. Bibliotekets Tidningar om Lärda Saker* 1786, pp. 117—118):

"Our Cabinet of Naturalia and Curiosities no less than each shelf of the Library received from every seaport visited the most marvellous additions yielded by the Hinterlands, and fate so favoured (us) that of so many separate homeward shipments none was lost, but could be treasured as the richest harvest of foreign Naturalia, Drawings, Models, Tools and Books as ever any Swedish man made on foreign soil."

Clas Alströmer suffered in his forties a paralytic stroke that made him an invalid for life. Indoors he was forced to rely exclusively on a wheel-

³) *Daniel Solander* (1733—1782) — pupil of Linnaeus and sometime fellow student of the Alströmer brothers in Upsala.

⁴) *Miller, Philip*, Gardener at Apothecaries Garden, Chelsea.

⁵) *Lee, James* (1715—95), nurseryman at The Vineyard, Hammersmith. Translated several works of Linnaeus into English.

chair purchased by the younger half-brother Johan on his visit to London 1777—78. This family heirloom, with its combination of crank-shaft and cogwheel gear, is still intact to perpetuate the memory of perhaps the most gifted and certainly the most distinguished of Jonas Alströmer's sons (*Miranda* 1950, Fig. 148, p. 246). On his country property of Gåsevadholm, to which his collections and library were transferred⁶) he devoted himself to study and the management of his various properties. It was here, too, that he received *Miranda* in 1787. He was an assiduous letter-writer, largely perhaps because of his physical condition. The published letters he received from the French officer de Kageneck 1779—84 are alone sufficient to fill a substantial volume (*Léouson le Duc* 1884).

Johan Alströmer (Fig. 3), the younger half-brother, was active from an early age at Alingsås, where he was manager when his elder brother Patrick was in Stockholm as representative of the noble family of Alströmer, defending in the States General⁷) the interests of the family, and trying to ensure the future of their enterprises. In 1776 he joined his elder brothers as a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which he was President 1782—83.

In 1777 he began to travel, beginning with something over a year in London. His experiences in London were reported in detail to the family, and will be extensively quoted below. There is everything to suggest that the acquisition of the South Seas collection was made at this time, as the direct result of his long-standing friendship with Daniel Solander, once his fellow student at Upsala, and for many ears the loyal aide and assistant of the then Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, whom he accompanied on his travels with Captain Cook 1768—71. The participation of Banks and Solander in Cook's first voyage marked the beginning of the scientific exploration of the Pacific (*Smith* 1960, p. 2). In 1778, prior to his departure from London, Johan Alströmer was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Fagraeus (*Kongl. Bibliotekets Tidningar om Lärda Saker* 1786, p. 118) characterises Johan Alströmer's scientific interests and his attitude towards the family museum as follows:

"His love of Belles-Lettres, Natural History and sundry Mechanical Sciences has not only greatly enriched both the Library and the Cabinet of Naturalia and Artifacts but also doubled our Collections by a magnificent Mint Cabinet, which besides the current Gold, Silver and Copper Coins of all Potentates contains many Medals and rare Swedish Coins

⁶) pp. 22, 55.

⁷) cf. p. 19 note 2.

to enlightenment in olden History; by a *Laboratorium mechanico-chemicum* consisting of select Chemical and Mechanical Instruments of incomparable gain both for (his) own use and for the Town's *Mechanici* and Artificers; and by a choice Collection of the most beautiful Engravings, in which he possesses a surpassing good taste."

A copy of Johan Alströmer's last will, kept in the Östad archives and dated May 27th 1782 stipulates that:

"Should I die without Legitimate Issue and Direct Heirs, I hereby bequeath, in token of genuine Affection, Friendship and Brotherly Love, to my dear Brother, the Commercial Councillor and Knight of His Royal Majesty's Order of Wasa, the noble Baron Patrick Alströmer, or after his death . . . my Property and Estate, movable and immovable, nothing excepted of whatever name and state . . . on the following conditions . . .

Should I marry and my wife survive me shall to Her throughout Her lifetime . . . annually on the first of January be paid the Sum of One Thousand Riksdaler Specie."

In the following year (Dec. 17th, 1783) Johan Alströmer married Hedvig Catharina Danckwardt-Lillieström. The import of the marriage contract concluded the same day (and a copy of which is preserved in the Östad archives) is much the same. The impression given is that the cabinet of naturalia was considered by the family to be its joint property. The stipulations made by Johan Alströmer confirm this view. In fact, when the Alströmer Museum was partially destroyed by fire in 1779 (cf. p. 54), the collections were apparently taken into the personal charge of brother Clas, who some years later made arrangements for their transfer to his own magnificent manor at Gåsevadholm (pp. 22 and 55).

The idea behind the Alströmer library and museum is perhaps best reflected in some notes made by Clas Alströmer on a couple of sheets of paper now in the Östad archives (cf. p. 25), and intended, according to an annotation, "*For the New Edition of Herr Tuneld's Geography*":

"The great and costly Alströmer Library with the Cabinet of Naturalia, Coins and Artifacts, with Chemical and Mechanical workshops, cannot here in Ahingsås be viewed other than with Edification and Wonderment. They are open to all Men and can at any time be seen and used alike by Neighbours and by distant Travellers. There is no Industry but in which have been assembled Drawings, Models and Machines, besides Electrical, Hydrostatical, Hydraulical and other Physical Instruments."

Concerned in this way with both the museum and the library, the Alströmer brothers were worthy and altruistic representatives in Sweden of the French Enlightenment. It was only natural that they should incorporate into the museum the South Seas ethnographical collection donated by Joseph Banks.

The Alströmer brothers played a prominent part in the activities of

the fraternal orders that then flourished in Sweden. They were influential members of the Göta Coldinu Order in Gothenburg from its foundation, as is reflected in this order's patronage of the sciences and music, its collections of naturalia, etc. The earliest collections of this order, which may have included objects parallel to those treated here, were destroyed, however, by fire towards the end of the 18th century. The few extant objects that may stem from these collections are in no way connected with the Alströmers.

THE ALSTRÖMER BROTHERS

MEET SOLANDER

Patrick and Clas Alströmer both studied at Upsala, as did their brother Johan. Patrik matriculated at the university there in 1748, August and Clas in 1750, Johan in 1756. The brothers devoted themselves primarily to natural history, and all of them were consequently pupils of Linnaeus for longer or shorter periods. This brought them into contact with another Linnaean pupil, Daniel Solander (Fig. 7). It was thanks to their friendship with him that Banks's South Seas collection found its way to Sweden some twenty years later. Of Clas Alströmer and his latter years of study at Upsala, 1758—60, *Dubb* (1796, p. 11) says:

"The diligence that had already distinguished Alströmer in the eyes of his Teachers was now enhanced by the competition that arose between him and the faithful friends he at this time won, to wit, Forskål,¹⁾ Bergman²⁾ and Solander, who at that time together with Alströmer were perfected in Natural History. These names, so renowned and so bemoaned, bear the greatest witness to our *Alströmer's* assiduity and learning when, by von Linné's (Linnaeus' — Ed.) own testimony in several of his letters, and by the earnest of all his contemporaries, it can be said that he with them contested for precedence."

For a detailed account of Solander's activities in Sweden, and to some extent also of his visit to England, his family relations etc., I would refer to a memorial paper by *Fries* (1940, pp. 279—301; 1939—43) published by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in connection with a medal struck in memory of Solander (Fig. 60).

Exhaustive information on the cooperation between Banks and Solander during the voyage with Cook and afterwards is given in *Beaglehole's* (1962) excellent work "*The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768—1771*".

¹⁾ *Forsskål, Peter*. Born 1732 at Helsingfors (Helsinki), one of the Swedish pupils who were the object of Linnaeus's greatest hopes. Died 1763 at Jerim in South-West Arabia, when a member of a Danish expedition to Egypt and Arabia.

²⁾ *Bergman, Torbern* (1735—84), Professor at Upsala, pupil of Linnaeus and an outstanding chemist.

THE ROUTE OF THE BANKS COLLECTION TO SWEDEN

Miranda's mention of the Alströmer South Seas collection as early as in 1787 indicated at once the implausibility of its completion on any later occasion than one of Cook's voyages to the South Seas. From Cook's second voyage 1772—75 we in fact already have in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm a collection made by Anders Sparrman (1748—1820), another pupil of Linnaeus who accompanied the second expedition as a botanist. A good description of the Sparrman collection has been published by *Söderström* (1936, 1939), who reviewed at the same time Sparrman's travels and activities in Sweden. The objects contained in it stem mainly from the same islands as the Alströmer collection, and tally with the latter in several respects. The theory that the Alströmer Collection had also been brought to Sweden by Sparrman was thus perfectly plausible. Archival studies, however, very soon pointed to a different origin.

One characteristic of the Alströmer family was the exceptional degree to which they collaborated with each other. Not only were contacts maintained by assiduous correspondence but — to the lasting benefit of posterity — the letters they received were also carefully preserved. These, together with the diaries they kept on sundry journeys, drawings of places of manufacture visited en route, and accounts from the Alingsås factories (these referring in part also to the family's investments in the Swedish East India Company) are now split up among two different Swedish sets of archives. The main portion is in the Upsala University Library (*Brolén* 1917), while the material pertaining chiefly to personal matters (and here referred to as the *Östad archives*) was deposited by a descendant, Captain Baron J. P. Alströmer, in the Provincial Archives in Gothenburg. Not the slightest indication has been discovered, however, in all this material, of any Sparrman-Alströmer relationship in connection with the South Seas collection. Virtually the only thing pointing to a connection between the Alströmer brothers and any "naturalia" received by them is a casual mention in a letter from Patrick to Clas Alströmer: "... Also I have seed from Sparrman from the Cape ..." The correspondence between Johan Alströmer and the family

at home during his stay in London 1777—78 (of absorbing interest in several other respects, and now in the Östad archives) proves, on the other hand, that he kept in close touch throughout with Solander and Banks, once members of Cook's first expedition in the *Endeavour*. At the same time it was found that *Nicander* (1791, p. 18) in his memorial address to the Royal Academy of Sciences mentions the relationship between Johan Alströmer and both Solander and the person instrumental in obtaining Solander a place on Cook's first voyage, the then Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, head of natural scientific research during the voyage. Of particular interest is the statement that Johan Alströmer acquired from them certain collections, which are not, however, specified:

"From Herr *Banks* and *Solander* was acquired a mass of the rarities they had gathered in the course of their extensive Journey. The friendship between them and Herr *Alströmer* was such that they did promise him all Duplicates in their store, so soon as they had perfectly finished their Descriptions."

A clarification of the relationship between Solander and the Alströmer brothers, particularly Johan, thus proved necessary for an identification of the Banks collection.

The Alströmer brothers, as we have said, made the acquaintance of Solander during their student days at Upsala under Linnaeus. In 1760 Solander left Sweden to enter employment in England (*Rydberg* 1951, p. 266 ff.). A detailed account of how Solander came to England, how he got to know Banks, and of his entire activity in England, is supplied by Banks himself in a letter to Johan Alströmer dated London Nov. 16th, 1784 i.e. after Solander's death. An abridgement of a Swedish translation of this letter is available in *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* (1785, pp. 105—110. Cf. also *Fries* 1940, 1939—43).

When Joseph Banks, newly appointed scientist on Cook's first expedition, looked for an assistant in his natural scientific research he chose Daniel Solander (1733—1782). He also made attempts to recruit yet another Swedish disciple of Linnaeus, Henric Gahn (p. 62). Banks and Solander got on well with each other from the start, and in course of time there grew up a deep friendship between them that lasted until Solander's death in 1782. A plausible explanation of the transfer of the Banks Collection to Sweden seemed here to present itself. What argued against such a conclusion was the caution observed by both Banks and Solander on their return to England as regards having, for instance, Linnaeus partake of their botanical or other scientific findings. The reason for this attitude may have been Solander's once dashed hopes of becoming Linnaeus's son-in-law and successor, or possibly Bank's

exclusive title to the results of the expedition, Solander having merely served as his assistant (*Uggla* 1954, 1955). The absence of letters or other documents from Solander or Banks in the Swedish Alströmer archives similarly ruled out the possibility of either of them having been directly instrumental in the transfer. On the other hand, the numerous passages in Johan Alströmer's voluminous London correspondence that attests to his close acquaintance with these two men at least make them conceivable as donors.

Before producing the final evidence that the South Seas Collection in the Alströmer Museum, the collection mentioned by Miranda and now in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, was donated by Sir Joseph Banks, let us accompany Johan Alströmer on his journey to England, and hear what he has to say in his letters home of his relations with Banks and Solander.

JOHAN ALSTRÖMER IN LONDON

Between 1777 and 1780 Johan Alströmer made, as we have already mentioned, a journey through Europe to study various places of manufacture etc. His aim was to find out how far foreign manufactures and methods could be used in the Alströmer enterprises in Sweden. He was accompanied by Captain Carl Wilhelm Carlberg (1746—1814), later a prominent architect in Gothenburg, who was to make drawings of such establishments, factories and machines as were of particular interest. A sample of Carlberg's excellent drawings from England is given here (Fig. 14). Ten years later the English-born merchant John Hall (1735—1802. Swedish-married and at the time the wealthiest man in Sweden) built his summer residence of Gunnebo at Mölndal south of Gothenburg from Carlberg's drawings. It is still extant and is one of the finest pieces of architecture from that period. After a rather hurried trip through Denmark, North Germany and Holland the travellers spent most of their time in England, from which they finally returned home via France, Italy and Germany. An excellent summary of the journey, based on the same archive material, has been published by *Bäckström* (1958) but with special reference to the significance it had for Carlberg's subsequent work as an architect. On Alströmer's relationship with Solander in London I have published an account in Swedish (*Rydén* 1961). The same applies to Johan Alströmer's activities as a political observer during his visit (*Rydén* 1960 a).

The very day after his arrival in London (he reached the city on Friday October 24th, 1777) Johan Alströmer dined together with Solander at the home of the elder Lindegren, of the firm of Lindegren, Son and Grill, business connections of the Alströmers in London. The next letter reports:

"Sunday, dinner at Banks's and *Soupe* at his *Maitress*' Mistress Walls, with only Banks and Solander . . . I cannot describe how esteemed Solander is by all People here and what I hear of the services he is here rendering all Swedes. He is both esteemed and appreciated in the very noblest houses, and therefore all these recommendations are quite significant. It is he alone who has accomplished that Swedish officers are allowed to sail in English ships, this having been refused *tout court* both to Russians and others. Lindegren and Grill cannot praise him enough."

This was not to prove the sole occasion on which the three gentlemen ate at "Mistress Wall's".¹⁾ A few days later we learn:

"I now spend every day with Banks and Solander, and this I am writing at Mme-Wall's, Mr. Banks's *maitress*, where we have dined, and Solander asks me now as always to convey his respects."

In his letters Johan Alströmer constantly reverts to what Banks and Solander are doing for him:

"The Latter as an Old Friend and fellow student is doing everything in the World to procure me knowledge and pleasure, and by his introduction I have also completely won Mr. Banks's friendship. He has not only introduced me among all Scholars but also promised me always in the Way of Learning to accomplish everything he can. The 3 Species of *Alstroemeria*²⁾ he is now causing to be painted on Parchment by the best miniature painter of herbs, which he is giving me, he has also promised Duplicates of all His collections of Herbs, Shells and Insects and that for ever. No week passes but he receives huge *Paquets* of Naturalia from all parts of the world, for he has friends in all places, and all extend themselves to show him courtesy. From Solander I have received a promise of all South Sea shells, which nearly all are new. From the Duchess of Portland³⁾ I have also received a promise of Duplicates. And from Geisler⁴⁾ of minerals etc., so that I am almost certain that with the aid of these my friends I shall achieve the finest collection of naturalia in Sweden. But more of this at some other occasion . . ." (June 2nd, 1778).

Again:

"Banks and Solander are inseparable. They are esteemed by all Classes of People from the King himself down, and with his Yeomen, Dukes, Lords, Ladies, Baronets, Gentlemen etc., all speak with respect of Them and all are content when they can have Their Company. They must consequently against their will often frequent most high Society, which they detest, but the rest of their time they devote to Natural History and all noble sciences. By means of them I have made the acquaintance of most Learned Men here, and nearly all Thursdays I have dined at the Scientific Society's Club and thereupon Attended the Society's meeting, and in the evening suppered at a private Learned Club, which also has been endowed with a genuinely Philosophical name, viz. the C-nt Club, where none are admitted but such as love the true Philosophy. There are often read Physical treatises or Papers on such subjects before they are presented to the Academy. The foolish name they have from an incident which they told me but shall relate upon my return home."

¹⁾ The existence of "Mistress Walls", of whom nothing seems previously to be known, can explain the break with Miss Harriet Blosset, Banks' fiancée, on his return to England (as mentioned by *Beaglehole* 1962, Vol. I, pp. 54, 56 etc.).

²⁾ Cf. p. 35.

³⁾ *Margaret Cavendish Bentinck*, Dowager Duchess of Portland (1714?–1785), née Harley. For many years she was the leading patroness of natural history in England, and particularly devoted to conchology (*Wilkins* 1955, p. 88 cf. XXXX).

⁴⁾ Identical (?) with the Swedish mining engineer *Johan Tobias Geisler* (1758–1826), whose father Erik was also a mining engineer. Made a study trip to England 1772–73 (*Rydberg* 1951, pp. 147–201).

And:

"Since I am living but 5 houses from Banks so I mostly breakfast with him together with 6 or 8 other Lovers of Learning. There I am told if some new Learning is said to have been invented, any new Instruments made etc. etc. There my day is planned, what I should enquire of, see or Hear, and if Banks or Solander themselves have not time they send along one of Their Friends with me. After running all forenoon to see and learn new places of manufacture, call on the most renowned Instrument-makers in the most famous Shops of all kinds, perform Commissions, etc., I dine either with Hr. Banks or at Lindegren's and rather seldom at some inn, if it is not in company with Banks or Solander . . .

"You know what can be seen here, what there is to learn and, finally, how one can enjoy oneself, particularly when one has friends who in every possible way try to be of service and pleasure. Banks and Solander as well as Lindegren and Grill I count as such, for it is not enough that they personally show me all possible courtesy but They enlist also all Their Friends, and I Positively believe that scarce a Traveller in such short while ever saw as much . . ."

Even with recommendations as impressive as those provided by Banks and Solander difficulties were only to be expected on an errand such as Alströmer's, namely to obtain information on English factories and their production methods:

"Without making a purchase and thus proving oneself a Gentleman it is indeed difficult to see the manufactories, for they are but too accustomed to seeing despicable spies who protest their *curiosité* . . .

"What for us in Sweden in particular might prove of consequence is their method of making cast-iron soft or malleable . . . This was held in all places a secret but since I was permitted to talk with the workmen without the owner being present, and also to watch the entire process, I am now a complete Master thereof . . . I can assure you that I am so well informed of everything that I can contrive such a work, and I wish I were the owner of Arfvidson's foundry^{b)} in Gothenburg."

In justice to Alströmer it should be stressed that, to judge from his correspondence, he resorted to such methods very rarely. The fact is that his recommendations from Banks and Solander opened all doors. For that matter, foreigners visiting Sweden made use of identical means to gain insight into Swedish methods. As additional evidence of English courtesy it can be mentioned that Carlberg, his companion on the journey, was allowed to make drawings of machinery and entire factories, including whisky distilleries (Fig. 14), brick kilns, etc. Apparently the Alströmer family had on previous occasions realised that the English had from a fear of foreign competition become in the normal way extremely cautious about disclosing their industrial secrets and produc-

^{b)} Christian Arfvidsson had in the 1770's a sizeable foundry for cooking-pots etc. at Röda Sten by the entrance to the port of Gothenburg.

tion methods. Thus, in a letter concerning a visit to the prominent industrialist Matthew Boulton, who had just commenced with James Watt to exploit at Soho near Birmingham the steam engine invented by the latter, Johan Alströmer reports:

"Birmingham, which I inspected in the greatest of hurry, or in 2 days, would need an attentive eye for 14 days. There I met a Mr. Boulton, to whom I had a letter from Solander. He is in my opinion one of the proudest fellows I know, he told me that You and Westerman had wanted to *obligate* him to go to Sweden, that he was *indécise* (!), that he had had several letters from You concerning this, which even so he never dared to answer, for he was watched by the Government, and his letters were opened by the Post Office, and several persons in Birmingham had *ordres* from the Government to keep a watchful eye on him. When You were here he had but begun with a quite small works which he subsequently caused to be razed and then on the same heath outside Birmingham built almost a little town. He now employs in his works 1000 labourers, and it has cost him in investment 30 or 40,000 £ Sterling, of which 10,000 was his own which he received with his wife, and the rest he borrowed from Lord Warril. Now he is reaping a fine harvest. He took me round himself and showed me everything, yet all such is not understandable in an instant. What most *memorated* to be informed of was what I least understood, viz. His newly invented Fire and Air Machine. This he was kind enough to set in motion for my sake. He has obtained *Privileges exclusives* on it, first of the King for 14 years and then of Parliament for the succeeding 25 years. 20 specimens of different Dimensions are under construction, which all are to be finished by the month of June. The pumps are the same as on the old, but the *execution* is very different, for $\frac{3}{4}$ coal is saved. The one he had in motion he said was rather small, for the Cylinders to the Pump were no more than 3 or 4 quarters in Diameter and it nonetheless pumped up 3 Oxheads of water per minute, but he had in the works a large one, the Cylinder of which lay in the yard, and which I could walk through with the hat on my head, and whose Diameter I judge was 78 Inches. What coal is required to draw up from each Depth a given quantity of water You can see from the enclosed *memo.* which he gave me. But of this I shall have to write an *apart* letter together with such Speculations as have occurred to me concerning the use thereof in Sweden. What I cannot comprehend, albeit I have seen it, is that he is using the Fire and Air Machine to drive Rollers, hammers, bellows and the like without the service of water, only of steam, which he says costs much less than using horses."

In a letter dated London June 5th, 1778, Alströmer says that he is expecting a visit from Boulton. Negotiations are apparently under way for the purchase of a steam engine. As Boulton did not show up Alströmer set off for Birmingham on September 1st.

"My Intention was merely to settle with Boulton concerning the Fire and Air Machine, the which I also concluded according to my desire. He arrived here in town yesterday and we shall further consult in the matter."

He writes on his return to London on September 8th. This first attempt to introduce the steam engine in Swedish industry does not, however, seem to have produced any tangible results.

It can easily be imagined what effect it would have had on Swedish industry if the Alströmers had succeeded in persuading Boulton to move to Sweden and introduce Watt's steam engine. In all fairness, though, we must mention that as early as in 1726 a Swedish citizen, Mårten Triewald (1691—1747) had constructed, partly on the basis of work done in England, the first Swedish steam engine, with a pump. This was put into operation in the Dannemora mine. That Alströmer was aware of and permitted to study Boulton's works so thoroughly may have been partly due to the installation about this time (1778) by Banks of a steam engine of the same make in a copper mine that he owned — one of the earliest such installations in England (Dawson 1958, p. XXV). Nicander (1791 p. 13) also mentions as one of the late Johan Alströmer's manuscripts in the care of his brother Clas certain "*Handlingar om Boulton och Watts Eld- och Luft-Maskin i Birmingham*" (Documents Concerning Boulton and Watt's Fire and Air Machine in Birmingham).

The motive behind Alströmer's interest in Boulton and Watt's steam engine may have been its potential use for dry-pumping the coal mines in South Sweden, the development of which was closely followed by Sahlgren and the Alströmers.

En route to Birmingham to visit Boulton, Alströmer and Carlberg narrowly escaped being burnt to death in a fire at an Oxford inn. Alströmer's graphic account of the incident is worth quoting:

"The second day, or Christmas Day, I was permitted, as the result of fine Letters of Recommendation from Solander, to inspect all that was of note in Oxford, so that on the second day I could have been out on my business early, had I only been permitted to sleep soundly that night, but a Fire that broke out in my Lodging and the room adjoining prevented me therefrom, and I can be right glad that I was prevented from sleeping, for otherwise I would have slept *pour toujours*. By some strange happening one of the men servants was roused. He was awakened by some noise in the Street, but since he feared it might be from Thieves that had broken into the yard, he ran out to see and became aware of a violent flame through a window. He saw that it was close by my room and ran therefore and aroused Carlberg, who was lying by the door. He awakened but fancied it was robbers and pretended to sleep, since he believed he would in this way be rid of them more quickly when they had possessed themselves of what was in the room. The fellow kept shaking him for a long while but all in vain. He then ran out again and began to cry "Fire! Fire!". Only then did Carlberg recover his wits and find that Fire had broken out. He began to shout at me, and I, who in my sleep had heard the noise and now was awakened by the shouting, also at first believed it was thieves, and jumped out of bed to my Pistols, which now for the first time were loaded since I left Sweden, but in the middle of the Floor I became fully awake and found that Pistols would be of no avail against such a Robber as now visited us. I therefore returned to my bed and *tranquilement* took on my breeches, stockings, slippers and Jacket and ran out to see where the fire was. I then saw a flame in a corner of my room and, to do what I

could, seized the chamber-pot and threw it on the fire, but it contained but little water and was thus of little avail. I therefore took my clothes and my writing pouch and marched down, when I at last ran into people bent on putting out the fire. Carlberg I had to laugh at for he seized in *alternation* his breeches by the knees, and when he was to put in his feet his watch, purse, keys etc. fell to the floor. The watch he picked up, the rest he left and ran barefoot with stockings and jacket on his arm down in the yard, where in his fright he must cry out "*mörd*" (=Swedish: *Mörd*, murder? — Ed.). People and water soon arrived so that no particular damage was caused, only some *meubles* damaged. Before morning 100 different stories were about town of my pistols, one of which was *superbe*, to wit that when the fellow came to rouse me I believed it was the robber and therefore seized him by the arm and held him so fast that he could not tear himself away, jumped out of bed, took hold of my pistol, when the fellow kneeled and begged for clemency saying that fire had broken loose, but that I would not believe him and was just making to shoot him in the head when I saw the fire so that he escaped from being shot dead almost as by a miracle. The fire had broken out from the fire-place in my room on the same night as last Christmas at Alingsås. Only a thin brick lay over the Boards and since they made fire with wood the heat had become so strong that the boards caught fire."

It should be added that Alströmer in later letters mentions certain protective measures against fire that were then being experimented with in England. These included "a panel of plate-iron under the floor".

Alströmer's descriptions of life in London are many and varied. Of his visit to Parliament he relates the following:

"I did not see anything so very remarkable in the meeting of Parliament yesterday. Solander acquainted me with a Lord Galloway who was kind enough to drive us in his own carriage and then introduced us in Parliament where, despite a *terribel* congestion, we secured such good place that we were not more than 4 or 5 ells from the King with his mantle and crown. The King has a quite fine and *noble* appearance, and his speech, which he nonetheless reads from a Paper, he delivered quite pleasingly, with a voice of fitting strength and a pleasant *oratorie*. At the right of the Throne is raised the *Pileus Libertatis* or Hat of Liberty, of Red Velvet with ermine trimmings, and on the other side the Sword. In front of him stood the Lord High Chancellor with a large Pouch in which lay the Seal. All the Lords had red-cloth coats with ermine lining and trimmings, but somewhat differing according to rank. As soon as the King had read his Speech he left, whereupon Prayers were said by a Bishop, and then the King's Speech was again read out by the Chancellor, whereupon the debate began but then I together with all others who were not Lords was driven out. Another time I shall nonetheless try to come in to Parliament to hear their Speeches and Disputes . . ."

In the same letter, dated Nov. 21st 1777, Alströmer mentions also that he is going to meet the famous Swedish-born English architect Sir William Chambers and his brother:⁹⁾

⁹⁾ *Chambers, William* (1726–96), was born of Scottish parents in Gothenburg. The father was a merchant in this city, which like the nearby town of Alingsås, contained the residences of several

"Both Chambers have now arrived in town from the country. S^r William, the architect, I have looked for but not found, but John, the Supercargo, I have met and shall dine with him on Tuesday. The first is said to have uncommonly beautiful daughters and the latter a pretty wife. Thus I am likely often to visit them especially since both live in Westminster . . ."

In connection with a subsequent visit to the latter Alströmer records that.

"his wife is pretty and evidently of good character, but hears badly, the which prevents her from being as cheerful as she otherwise certainly would be. He has already two lovely children, son and daughter . . ."

Another English ceremony that interested Alströmer was the installation of a judge:

"Yesterday I witnessed one of the most curious ceremonies in England, when a Lawyer became *Sergeant in Law*. To describe it properly would be too lengthy an undertaking and this I shall have to save till I come home, but the *ridiculous* I might mention, to wit that on this lawyer who now was appointed *Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer* they set a Verger's Coat of Blue cloth with red bands trimmed at all the Seams, and on His Great Law *Peruque* was placed a little white woman's nightcap which was tied under the chin with white Tape Bands, and in this attire he was brought into the *court of Sergeants*, where 4 old Judges Presided. All were obliged to laugh and several hundreds of people follow after and gape at him as if at some Spectacle. After he has taken his oath and been hailed as Sergeant-in-Law by the Judges he presents Golden Rings to all the Judges, Sergeants and Lawyers, the which is an obligation said to cost 500 £ Sterling. Those he presented to the King and Queen, and which the Lord Chancellor received, were two Thumb Rings $1\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, wide while those received by the Sergeants-in-Law were only $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch wide. On all was engraved *Mores Servare*."

A visit to Kew Gardens, which as a result of Joseph Banks's efforts were soon to surpass even Alströmer's glowing description, is reported as follows:

"My first letter was dated 31st to Sister-in-Law Stina, for I was prevented from writing with the first Post by a journey I made with Hr. Banks and Solander to Kew. On the

Alströmers and a number of their family enterprises. The brother John referred to (b. 1720) was a supercargo in the Swedish East India Company 1750–69. Mary Chambers, sister of the Chambers brothers, was married to a director of the Swedish East India Company, David Sandberg (1726–88), who was raised to the nobility in 1772 under the name of af Sandeberg was identical with the supercargo who donated to the Alströmer Museum the East Indian objects already mentioned (p. 9, cf. also p. 69).

Another sister, Sarah Chambers, had a daughter who in her second marriage was wife to another of the directors of the East India Company, Martin Törngren (1735–1799), of Råda Manor near Gothenburg. The main building, which is still preserved, was reportedly constructed from drawings by William Chambers (*Gösta Bäärnhielm* in an article entitled "Göteborgare anlade Londons Botaniska" in *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, June 21st, 1960; cf. also Rydberg 1951, p. 95 ff.)

way we took with us in the carriage Your old friend Hr Lee,⁷⁾ who was quite pleased to see me and hear word of you. We inspected both the Pleasure and the Botanical Gardens at Kew, which are said to be the foremost in Europe, and the Botanical is now at least the richest in the world in plants. The Gardener whom you also knew, Hr. Aiton,⁸⁾ is as knowledgeable as he is a little *jaloux* of all his riches. He is the most Courteous and Modest of all Gardeners in the world, for he can never deny either Seed or Specimens of all he has. Solander and I spoke with Hr Lee to procure both for yourself and me slips of all American trees able to stand the Swedish Climate. At Bollerup⁹⁾ I suppose all could grow that can stand in cold soil and in the open here in England. These *Paquets* will nonetheless cost something, yet as your friend one can at least be certain that he will give the best. Ever since the war with America no seeds have arrived from there, and many species of American trees do not mature here in England. Thus there is nothing for it but to take plants, which in good time can always be sent to the Sound and thence Overland to Bollerup. I, who am no true *Botanicus*, found Hr Aiton's *Arboretum* and Fruit House in particular extremely beautiful, for there stand all Trees and Shrubs planted according to Genera so that one sees in one place all sorts, the one beside the other, and I am longing to see in time such a Tree School at home. Lady Monson,¹⁰⁾ whom you knew, recently died in India, whither she accompanied her husband who had become gouverneur. She has bequeathed to Hr. Lee all of her collections of Naturalia and more besides. They are not yet arrived, but Hr. Lee is now causing a house to be built *apart* for these collections. Hr. Lee promised to send you seed of *Alströmer's Licta* in recognition of your first sending him seed of *Pelegrina*, and which had bought countless *Geneas*

⁷⁾ See p. 20.

⁸⁾ Aiton, William (1731–93). Royal Gardener at Kew.

⁹⁾ Ancient manor in the province of Kristianstad in the southern-most part of Sweden. Owned at that time by Clas Alströmer and his father-in-law Nils Sahlgren.

¹⁰⁾ Lady Ann Monson, daughter of Henry, Earl of Darlington, died 1776. Johan Alströmer's brother Clas writes of her in a letter to Linnaeus: "A great admirer of Linnaeus, and a person with thorough insight into her science, compared with whom the famous Duchess of Portland is but a shallow amateur . . ." (Rydberg 1951 p. 274). Lady Monson, who married her second husband George Monson (1730–76), an Indian officer, in 1735, seems to have been a colourful character in many respects. "There was some scandal about her early life . . . She was a prominent person in Calcutta Society and a very superior whist-player . . ." (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

Some references that can fill out our picture of this clearly very colourful lady are given by Carl-Otto von Sydow in his catalogue to the exhibition "*The Heritage of Newton and Linnaeus*" (*Arvet från Newton and Linné* 1952) held at the Swedish National Historical Museum in Stockholm. This states, with reference to a letter from Linnaeus to Lady Monson, dated 1765(?):

"She botanised at the Cape together with Thunberg (cf. p. 12) and Francis Masson, and she had assisted in the publishing of a widely disseminated presentation of Linnaeus's botanical system, James Lee's "Introduction to Botany". This letter in Latin is a gallant tribute to the learned lady, in which Linnaeus declares his pure and innocent love. He begs to be allowed to send her as a gift some seeds of the beautiful flower *Alstroemeria*. Should he be so fortunate, Linnaeus continues, as to have his feelings returned, then he begs as a pledge of love to give life to the little daughter *Monsonia*. In this way Linnaeus begs to be allowed to call a family of plants after his admirer."

(! Guineas) in His purse. Of the 3rd Species, which does not exist in *natura* he has promised me a painting . . ."¹¹⁾

Apart from this letter we have a note in the Östad archives with excerpts from Johan Alströmer's observations in England. This mentions:

"Lady Monson, a Lady who could vie with the foremost Botanists of her day, accompanied her husband as *Gouverneur* to E. India, where she recently died. The Chancellery Councillor and Commander Baron Cl. Alströmer regards as the most treasured Gem in his Library a Catalogue by Her own hand of all Trees, Shrubs and Herbs extant in England in the year 1764, together with particulars of their *Cultur* in the open or in *Orangerie* . . . This neat Msc., which is dedicated to the aforementioned Hr. Baron by Its Authoress, deserves the more the *Estime* of the Future since our Immortal Solander therein has *Characterised* a manifold previously unknown Herbs and determined their English Names . . ."¹²⁾

Let us also take a sample of Alströmer's descriptive talents as applied to a private museum:

" . . . the foremost in the World for *Anatomical Preparata*, which I previously saw in all haste, but (which) Doct. Hunter now himself showed me together with his other Cabinets of mineralia and coins, of which the latter alone cost him more than 20,000 £ Sterling. A horrible sum. It is indeed said to be *égal* with, if not better than, that of the King of France in the matter of Olden and Roman coins, as well as the best there is to be had of English. But he is well able to make such collections, as long as the King makes such bonny children every year, for he is *accousheur* and receives 1,000 £ Sterling for each child. Thus he has from this union alone already received 12 to 13,000 £ Sterling, in other families he receives 50 to 100 £ Sterling for each child."

Banks's connections with the highest circles in the land — he was an intimate friend of George III — led to Johan Alströmer's presentation to the King, the visit to Parliament, his participation in the ceremonies connected with the installation of the Lord Mayor, and his attendance at the naval review in Spithead before the Navy was to sail out to attack the French Fleet. We shall return to his description of these events below. Joseph Banks was also instrumental in Johan Alströmer's being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1778.¹³⁾

¹¹⁾ Of the five species of *Alstroemeria* — *Pelegrina*, *Pulchella*, *Ligtu*, *Salsilla* and *Multiflora* — *Dubb* (1796, p. 20) in his memorial address in honour of Clas Alströmer says that "they are included in the collections at Gäsevadholm. Besides *Pelegrina* and *Ligtu*, which are there in their natural state, *Pulchella* and *Salsilla* are also kept together with the former drawn on parchment by Metz in 1778, with vivid tints, and sent by Sir Joseph Banks, and from which the previously mentioned descriptions were made . . ."

¹²⁾ In spite of painstaking research, this opus by Lady Monson has not been recovered. It does not seem to be included in the Alströmer Library at Koberg Manor. Judging from the formulation of the above quotation it can hardly have perished in the fire which damaged the library in 1779 (p. 54).

¹³⁾ In an article entitled "*I dag inträder kungen i anrika Royal Society*" in *Svenska Dagbladet* July 19th 1960, in connection with the Society's tercentary jubilee, Karl Lofström states that it was

Of his meeting the King, Johan Alströmer writes, Oct. 31st 1777:

"Last Wednesday I was presented to the King. The Queen I had no opportunity of seeing for she is in expectancy of bringing forth her 12th child. The King is a handsome fellow, very red in the face, affable and always smiling, yet appears a little embarrassed both by His Own and others' persons. For the rest, both his Physiognomy and Discourses mark Him as what we call a *Bonnehomme*. The Palace is miserable both without and within, and poorer furnishings in the Audience Room than any merchant has in Gothenburg . . ."

In the same letter he also mentions a visit to Covent Garden:

"The Comedy in Covent Garden I have seen 2 times, it is right handsome, and very good voices and right beautiful *musique* in their English operettas. The rabble still use their rights and noble liberty to drive the *acteurs* off and on to have them sing the same aria several times over."

The Alströmer family was very musical. As already mentioned, one of the Alströmer brothers, Patrick, was one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm. In London Johan Alströmer purchased and sent home a number of musical instruments. His report of a concert he attended is worth quoting:

"Once I attended a Concert by the *Célèbre* Schuman, upon which occasion he played for us on Glass divers Arias with accompaniment by other instruments, and I must admit that this *Musique* was sweetly charming. He had no such Instrument as is termed an Harmonium but only 32 larger and smaller Pitchers set in a box as large as a Clavichord, which Glasses were tuned to correct Notes by water. He but stroked them with a moist finger and since the Glasses were quite pure this produced at once a Note, but it craves much *habileté* to play thereon with *Precision*."

Of the Queen's delivery he reports:

"When the Queen is confined to child-bed, the which customarily takes place as at present in Her Own house, or the Queen's Palace, then one of Her foremost Ladies of Court must sit in a big room in St. James's Palace, to give answer to all Those who come to enquire of the Queen's condition. In the ante-chamber sits a Page who on a List writes down the names of all who come, for none may send and ask but all must go themselves, and it is Etiquette that they shall call every day. All the Ladies and Cavaliers who frequent the Court thus call all days between 1 and 3 but always in *negligée* or morning habit, some women in jacket and skirt and some Dukes in Boots and Spurs. On each occasion they cause their names to be noted, walk in, bow to *La Premier Dame d'Honneur du jour* when she rises to tell of the Queen's condition, and when they leave all of them are invited to partake of a drink called Candle, which is nothing but oat gruel made on wine, or with a great deal of wine, and which is always drunk hot, whereby also Cake

Jonas Alströmer who was elected in 1778. The same error was made by C. Hinshelwood, President of the Royal Society, in an earlier interview printed in the same newspaper April 14th 1960. A confusion between father and son is here apparent. The father, Jonas Alströmer, died as early as in 1761 (cf. genealogy p. 14). They both signed their names J. Alströmer.

of several kinds is preferred. Many call only in order to drink Candle and it is vowed that this provision of Candle and Cake costs 80 £ a day or 1,000 guineas for the entire Child-bed. I have gone up once and intend to call again today. The List is given each evening to the King and is said to constitute one of His most important *Lectures*. When the Queen recovers so that she can lie atop the Bed she always holds *cour* and foreigners are Presented, thus I too intend to make a true Child-bed visit soon."

By Jan. 23rd 1778 the Queen apparently had resumed her official duties, as Johan Alströmer writes that:

"I have seen a great festivity at Court, viz. the celebration of the Queen's birthday. Her actual birthday is in May but since it would be celebrated too close to the King's, which is in June, the festivity is instead advanced to January. The King was superbly dressed and the Embroidery on his costume, which was jewelled, was valued at 170,000 £ Sterl. He did not seem particularly *à son aise* for he walked stiff as a piece of wood, which he always does when he sees people, except in Parliament when in his Mantle and Crown he looks *superbe*. The Queen was quite simply dressed. All Ladies who frequent the Court, their number being over 200, were again in the greatest *gala*, with the most *superbe* clothes I ever saw and jewellery beyond all value. Some had Bosom Rose, Armroses, Ribbon above the Breast-cloth, along the upper edge of the Corset, hooks in the sides, necklaces, *Plumes, aigrette, Bosom Bouquette*, all of jewellery. Nobody wore *Robe de Cour*. Some Cavaliers had Gold Embroideries on Velvet Dress Coats with coils of large real Pearls, *enfin Luxe* in the highest degree. There was a great crowd and I scarcely think a single woman's dress or trimming escaped whole therefrom, for the rooms and the doors are small and the congestion was unbelievable."

In his account of the ceremonies on the occasion of the installation of a new Lord Mayor, Alströmer makes his first reference to the prevailing political unrest in England, as exemplified by the vehement (Whig) opposition to the Government's foreign policy:

"The (Lord Mayor's) Water *Promenade* is to take *procession* of the Shipping on the Stream. The Lord Mayor now elected is a Royalist and thus not in the *goût* of the Rabble. I therefore saw now a vessel fitted out solely for his *chicaning* in true English fashion. The boat was large and rowed by 16 men, all clad in white. At the Bow there was raised a Gallows and on it hung an effigy of straw, properly clad and of natural size, and this boat rowed continually alongside the Lord Mayor's craft all the way."

Of the concluding celebrations in the Guild Hall he writes:

"For the afternoon I could not secure a *Billet* but for the evening, or for the Ball that opened at 8 o'clock I obtained a note. Dancing in some Rooms, drinking in some but thronged in all. I neither danced nor drank but am nonetheless today so tired as scarcely to be able to walk, only from standing and pushing, although I was not there any longer than till 1/2 past 12, while the Ball was to last till 4 o'clock. The push in the Streets and at all Places where the Lord Mayor's Procession was to pass I cannot describe, nor the arrangements, the congestion and all the *Curicuses Physiognomies* seen at the Ball. Some drunk personages I also saw before I left, but all say that between 3 and 4 o'clock the entire locality is drunk and then they practise all manner of *aisances* in every corner."

At the time of Johan Alströmer's arrival England was in the throes of a foreign-political crisis. France was openly preparing actively to assist the North American rebels, and Spain apparently intended to follow suit. The prospect of another Anglo-French war was naturally viewed with some apprehension by the Alströmers, heavily engaged as they were in foreign trade and shipping, notably the East India—China trade. Even at this time they had been investigating the possibility of exporting Swedish products to North America. *Nicander* (1833, p. 15) writes:

"While the North American colonies, assisted by France, fought for their liberty, the prospect was opened of Swedish goods finding a market in America, and the country making therefrom a handsome profit. — The Barons Alströmer, who in questions of advantage to their native country, had never spared their purse, invested in this trade route a large capital, on no other condition than ordinary legal interest. — The responsibility for the enterprise's execution had been assumed by a Swedish agent who was resident in Boston. It was he who had taken the initiative and promised great satisfaction from it; but the war terminated and the value of the goods shipped fell, and with it also the agent and the prospects. — The House of Alströmer thus lost the capital it had invested . . ."

Johan Alströmer, with the keen eye of the trained observer, carefully noted and reported developments from day to day. We shall here confine ourselves to a few samples at random from his observations of the political scene, this serving to illustrate the setting in which he moved.¹⁴⁾ Shady stock exchange interests, for instance were trying to exploit the political situation by spreading rumours of an English victory in North America:

"They (the rumours) were so circumstantial and hailed from such reliable quarters that none could doubt their truthfulness; yet it now appears that all is lies and the entire rumour only Stock Jobbers' arts. The first day even the entire Admiralty was deceived, for a fellow disguised in the Admiralty's uniform calls on the Admiralty under the name of Capt. Gordon with the tale that he had disembarked the frigate *Isis* with Despatches for the King concerning Washington's defeat and the capture of Philadelphia. Then he takes a *Porte-chaire*,¹⁵⁾ lets himself be carried to The Queen's Palace, steps out of the *Porte-chaire*, and, on the pretext that his stockings had been bespattered, enters a Coffee House to change, but disappeared therefrom completely; however, this rumour went about the entire town and many imagined that they had themselves seen Capt. Gordon and all these are now abashed. It is nonetheless believed that the main purport has foundation albeit these tales are invented . . ."

¹⁴⁾ Johan Alströmer's activities as a political reporter in London 1777–78 are discussed in more detail by the author in a paper in *Swedish (Ryden 1960)*.

¹⁵⁾ Sedan chair.

In the following letters the rumours heard of the war vary, but he gradually realises that England has beyond question suffered defeat in America, and on March 17th 1779 he reports that the break between England and France is now a fact:

"Today the King will announce this in both the Upper and the Lower Houses. Thus no more troops can be despatched to America and the peace commissioners destined thither are expected to remain at home. 45 Ships of the Line are said now to be home in England, but no more than 20 of these can be sent out within the month. The French and Spanish naval power is said to make up 75 Ships of the Line and thus greatly exceeds the English strength. England has nonetheless 318 Pennants at sea, but most in America, of which most, however, are small ships of 6, 12 to 20 Guns. Yet they have aboard many stout seamen and gallant officers, so that when they arrive they will assuredly keep the French fleet warm. Admiral Keppel, with whom I am very acquainted, has been charged with the Command of the fleet in the Channel. He is soon to hoist his standard on the Victory, a 100-Gun Ship. He is by all recognized and esteemed as the most gallant Admiral and a righteous and zealous man, but has now ever since the American Noise been of the minority, or against the Government."

There follows a report of how stocks are falling on the Exchange, and the growing opposition to the Government:

"All are now shouting against the Government, and there is spoken of nothing less than hanging. *Hang they should* if they had known of France's and America's Alliance and not reported it to Parliament but denied it when asked, and *hang they should* if they had not known it, for this is negligence because it was concluded 6th or 10th of February."

Opinions clashed increasingly as to the rightness of the policy pursued and who was to be blamed for the reverses:

"Last Wednesday General Howe arrived by frigate from America, but no news has yet transpired. Since he has lain with the Army so long at Philadelphia and accomplished nothing, the nation and the friends of the Government in particular shouted against him and placed the entire blame for the Army's inactivity on him alone. They shouted that as soon as General Clinton had taken command some enterprise of note would at once be undertaken, and yesterday there came a ship with tidings of his notable Actions, which consist in having retired with the whole Army from Philadelphia to New York."

The general public was incensed not so much by the capitulation of certain units in the face of rebel attacks but more by their having accepted the condition that they should never again bear arms against the insurgents, thus making it impossible to exchange the prisoners for captive rebels. Instead it would now be necessary to despatch fresh troops from England, which was impossible in view of the French-Spanish threat. Alströmer's letters hint at the prospect of defeat:

"The latest tidings from America contain nothing beyond that the Congress refuses to treat with the Commissioners unless they as *Preliminaires* at once recognize them on behalf of the King as free and independent states, or at once withdraw all troops."

The time had come for an all-out effort by the Government to put the Navy on a wartime footing. Alströmer writes of the unceasing activities of press-gangs out for merchant seamen to fill the gaps in the crews of the English warships. On April 21st he was able to report that Admiral Keppel had gone aboard his flagship the Victory, and that the King was to review the fleet. The ignominious end to this Royal inspection he relates as follows:

"The King, as I wrote last, was to board in Greenwich the yacht Augusta, which has been specially fitted out to this end, but she is still lying in the Dock and they have forgotten that the mouth of the Dock is so shallow that no Craft can come out except at very high water or flood tide, which generally occurs every 14 days or 3 weeks. Since the King's voyage was to be *caché* neither did they wish to take out the Yacht until the preceding day, but to their misfortune it was then, and still is, low water so that the Yacht could not get out of the Dock. The voyage was thus postponed, and is likely to prove a fruitful subject for newspaper scribes this week, when those concerned will surely be flayed. I have previously told of the false Missive sent to the Lord Mayor of the Declaration of War, which made such great Noise and from which Stocks fell so much. Yesterday there was almost a similar spectacle, for a fellow pasted up on the Exchange and all Street Corners where the Declaration of war usually appears, a printed Patent containing a Letter signed by the Lord High Steward, in which it was announced that this officer was to be present to hear the Declaration of War the following day. The Composition was quite Stupid but nonetheless it caused a lot of Noise and such hesitancy that Stocks could neither be bought nor sold. Such knavery is constantly practised here so that few can now believe anything even what is actually true. Most people no doubt believe still that war will be declared, but how soon nobody knows."

On April 28th Alströmer writes that the King had arrived in London at 2 o'clock the previous night, after the failure of his review. The next letter, dated May 3rd, he sent from Portsmouth:

"Last mail I was prevented from writing by my journey to Portsmouth. This was quite suddenly resolved, for since the tidings of the French fleet's sailing from Toulon had become public none, or at least right few, believed that the King would go to Portsmouth and thus further hinder the Fleet's setting forth. To assure himself on this point Hr. Banks called on Lord Sandwich¹⁶⁾ on Thursday morning, when he was told that the King would go thither on Friday but Lord Sandwich would go on Thursday. I was then in a hurry to leave London and although I left Thursday afternoon at 4 o'clock and travelled all night I did not arrive here in Portsmouth until Friday evening at 8 o'clock. On a route ordinarily travelled in 8 hours I thus spent 28; for the want of a change of horses I was obliged in two places to wait 5 hours. An unbelievable crowd of people from the first to the last of all Classes have travelled hither to see the fleet and the review to be held on the King's arrival. Although we have had fine weather all the while, a horrible wind and rain began from the moment the King arrived, or Saturday forenoon, and the ladies at least have till now been rather *désappointées*. From Hr. Banks I have had word.

¹⁶⁾ *Montagu, John, 4th Earl of Sandwich* (1718 – 1792), First Lord of the Admiralty 1771 – 82 (cf. *Cameron* 1952).

Lord Mulgrave,¹⁷⁾ who is Lord of the Admiralty but Captain of a 74-Gun Ship — although there is a General Proscription against all foreigners seeing the Docks, the which is now more than ever observed, Lord Mulgrave nonetheless accompanied me and showed me (them), this before the King came, for after that it was impossible. He also invited me out to his Ship, but since there was a turbulent sea we could not go. Today there was a *Levée*, at which Dress-coat and Boots were uniform, wherefore I too was up early. From there I went with Admiral Barrington aboard His Ship Prince of Wales, 74 Guns, to Spithead, where today I have dined and seen the whole fleet. Tomorrow I shall dine aboard Lord Mulgrave's ship *La Courageuse*, where from, since she is lying in the centre of the fleet, I shall best observe all the festivities as the King tomorrow sails out to inspect the fleet. The day after tomorrow I am dining aboard Admiral Keppel's ship. The fleet off Spithead is now assuredly the largest that ever lay there, and that it is well manned is vouched for. 32 Ships of the Line, of which only two of 74 Guns, and all the others 80 or 90-Gun Ships, cannot but present a *majestueuse* prospect, and when all these salute the King in the morning it must have a *superbe effect*, particularly if we, as it is reported, shall all the time proceed under sail. Such as this I shall never see in any other place, and therefore I have not wished to *manquer* this occasion."

"Monday was appointed for the King's *Revue* of the fleet, which is lying $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, or about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Swedish mile, off a Schoal in the Bay that is called Spithead. In the morning at 8 o'clock I went with Young Lindegren, who lives here at Portsmouth, and 3 other acquaintances, aboard a little Pleasure Yacht (for which this day we had to pay 3 Guineas) out to sea. After a little while came the Queen and a large Royal Sloop, followed and surrounded by 45 Sloops, or 1 Sloop from each Man-o'-War now here in Portsmouth. Aboard were the Admirals and Commanding Ship's *Capitaines* of all these ships and each Sloop carried the flag or pennant belonging to him. The Queen was rowed in the Sloop only to a little 3-masted Royal Yacht which lay at anchor this side of Spithead. As she was rowed she was saluted with 3 double salvos by all the Guns on the ramparts and Forts. As soon as she boarded the Yacht the flags of the Royal Union and the Admiralty were hoisted atop the 3 masts of the Yacht, and at the same time she was saluted by the entire fleet with the Royal Salute, or 21 Rounds, from each Ship. I was then aboard my Yacht right in the centre of the fleet, and I cannot describe the effect that the Salute had on me. I fully imagined that I was in the midst of a *Bataille*, for at once to see the Fire and hear the shot from 32 Ships of the Line, besides Frigates and lesser craft, and this on all sides around oneself, and at last for smoke not see more than the mast tops and the fire out of the Gun muzzles, all of this is such as one seldom beholds except in *Bataille*, and such as I in my Lifetime shall neither see nor hear more. It may frighten you a little if I also relate that a Cannon-ball passed a few ells from our Yacht, so that we all looked whether it had not passed through our sails, which now amuses me, but which nonetheless at the moment frightened all of us. The fact is that they had forgotten to take the ball out of a Gun, and the *Cannonier*, I hear, has been punished accordingly. But I am now able to claim that I have heard a Cannon-Ball Whistle, or, more correctly, pass close by my ears. As soon as the Queen had boarded the Yacht, all the Sloops returned to fetch the King, who then did not board the Yacht but was rowed on the Sloop around the entire fleet, and as soon as he came so much within sight that the Royal Standard on His Sloop was seen he was saluted in the same manner

¹⁷⁾ *Phipps, Capt. the Hon. Constantine, R. N.*, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, Banks's companion on his earliest voyage to Labrador and Newfoundland.

by the fleet. I was then aboard Lord Mulgrave's ship *La Victorieux* (!), where I dined. The King, after he had been rowed round the fleet, boarded Admiral Keppel's Ship *Prince George* of 90 Guns, and as soon as he set foot on board the Royal Standard was hoisted on the Main mast and was anew saluted by the entire fleet.

Now Lindegren shouts that the fleet is leaving and I must defer the rest of my account till the next mail. Tomorrow I am leaving. Here we have had miserable and hard weather every day, with rain and storm except on the sole day when the *Revue* was held."

In the next letter he continues:

"I believe I last related that after the Queen had boarded the Yacht all the Sloops together with the Royal Barque returned to fetch the King and that he was rowed around the fleet and then boarded Admiral Keppel's Ship. As soon as he set foot on board the Royal Standard was hoisted on the Admiral's Ship and it was saluted by the entire fleet. The whole time all the Ships were "manned", *c'est à dire* all the Yards and Booms were dressed with seamen, and all the naval officers etc. were on Deck, and on most Ships also the uppermost Tops of the Masts were decorated with a Ship's Boy or Sailor. While the King remained aboard Keppel's Ship, the Queen sailed with the Yacht around the fleet, and when She passed the King there went up a loud Hurrah, and a renewed salute was given by the entire fleet. The Queen sailed back to the former place, where anchor was dropped, and the King rowed to the Yacht, and the fleet again saluted. On the Yacht the King and Queen took dinner with the Admirals, when first the Queen's Toast was proposed by the King, which upon a given Signal was honoured with a General Salute by the entire fleet, and subsequently that of the whole Sea and Land forces. A toast to the Navy was also Saluted. After this dinner the King sailed back to Portsmouth, when the fleet again Saluted, so that on this day up to 7,000 Rounds were fired. During the final Salute I was again aboard a boat in the centre of the fleet so as better to imagine myself a *Bataille*, but no Balls were heard to whine. That day I dined aboard Lord Mulgrave's Ship with many ladies and still more *Cavaliers*, among whom I mention only the *Duc de Manchester*. After dinner Lord Mulgrave showed us the Ship below Deck, and all was so clear that in the 'Tween-decks you could see from one end of the Ship to the other, which now looked so much the better inasmuch as all the men were formed in Lines below Deck. The rest of the days I was in Portsmouth the weather was so severe, with Storm and Rain, that I could not get out to the fleet. The King nonetheless on the day before His departure from Portsmouth, or last Friday, sailed in his Yacht twice around the fleet, but the ships saved their powder, which agitated me more than the iterated Salutes the first day, which are said in powder alone to have cost more than 2,000 Pounds Sterling. The King left Saturday morning for London and all he accomplished is said to have been that he hindered the fleet from sailing when it had a good wind, as it since then has been becalmed or had an adverse wind. While I was there I had an opportunity once to steal quite alone into the Dock, and I walked there for myself for 3 hours and saw all that was of note, of which I shall render on some other occasion a separate account. During the time the King was in Portsmouth so many tales of the French fleet's sailing and *expedition* were circulated, both in London and in Portsmouth, that it caused general alarm and discontent, and several of my friends have told me that they never had seen such general discontent as in those days. In the Parliaments the Government's indifference and clumsiness were sharply criticised in both Parliaments, the Government's side decreased so uncommonly that it is believed that the former minority, or as it is called here the Opposition Party, will soon gain the upper hand and become the

majority in both Houses. The fleet has not yet sailed, part of it is lying off Spithead, but nothing is yet known for certain whether there will be war or not. Lord Chatham died yesterday and immediately it was voted in the Lower House to raise a monument to him at the public cost."

Alströmer's account of his visit to Portsmouth marks in some measure the beginning of a diminishing interest in the foreign-political situation. Not that his subsequent letters are lacking information in this respect nor that he writes fewer letters, but his accounts are less detailed. He tells us that privateers are beginning to be fitted out in England and that the Dutch are sending out men-of-war to protect their shipping, because Dutch merchantmen had been seized by the English, that the French squadrons from Toulon have passed the Straits of Gibraltar, that the combined English Navy is lying inactive in Spithead and that whenever it has sailed out the French have avoided battle to the great annoyance of the English, and so on and so on. A passage in one of his letters reads:

"A little American privateer, the *Cromwell*, has seized 8 English ships bound for or homeward bound from Archangel. Now the English too are forcing on the fitting-out of privateers so that we shall soon have general Piracy here."

This is no doubt meant as a hint to his brothers at home, warning them of an increased danger at sea that could directly affect their foreign trade ventures. The situation gradually worsens:

"If there is to be *Bataille* then it will be fierce, for neither the English nor the French fleet will surrender. Keppel is determined rather to die than to lose, this I know from the accounts of *particuliers* men. If *Duc de Charles* Thinks in the same way and all the *Capitaines* follow the example of their admirals, it will be the most bloody *Bataille* ever fought at Sea."

Alströmer goes on to voice increasingly pessimistic views on political developments in England:

"Certain it is that England is now in a veritable Sh-t situation, as has now also been published in a print entitled *The State of the Nation*, where 10 or 12 persons all are sitting in Privies and some suffer obstruction while others have relief, the one pained and the other exhausted and none seems *tranquille* . . ." ¹⁸⁾

The political tension prevailing at this time was the signal for Alströmer's departure from England. One of his latest letters to Sweden

¹⁸⁾ Several issues of this anti-Government print appeared (George, M. D.; *Catalogue of the Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, Vol. V, pp. 291–292, Nos. 5477–80). The one referred to by Alströmer is probably that reproduced here in Fig. 15.

was returned opened by the Post Office: his lengthy stay in England plus his assiduous letter-writing had apparently aroused suspicion. For this reason he also entrusted certain important documents to a Swedish officer returning home from service with the English navy.

In Sweden, his brother Patrick was meanwhile playing quite an important role in politics. Patrick Alströmer had close connections both with leading political circles and with people in intimate contact with the Swedish King, who as the result of a coup some years previously had arrogated to himself virtually autocratic powers. Subsequently, not long after the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1785), which ended the Anglo-French-American war, Gustavus III of Sweden was the first sovereign to recognize the United States of America as a free and independent nation. There is no question but that Johan Alströmer's London reports with their scathing criticism of English policy and his far from favourable opinion of the English people effectively contributed to this surprising development at such an early stage. I shall return to this question later. It does not appear from the letters to what extent Banks may have contributed to Alströmer's view that the American war was lost to the English.

In the Östad archives there is a collection of notes dealing with Johan Alströmer's London reports. These were written by Dr. J. Th. Fagraeus and used by *Nicander* (1791) as a basis for his memorial address in honour of Johan Alströmer before the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences. Fagraeus drew, among other sources, on Johan Alströmer's letters. The existence of these and their great value as a source was stressed by *Nicander*, which has led the present author to attempt to use them in determining the early fate of the ethnographical collection.

Fagraeus' notes contain the following passage:

"Allow me to relate, once and for all, that the Swedish Government, particularly our Prime Minister Count C. Fr. Scheffer, never had so timely and Trustworthy intelligences of the Englishmen's war with their Colonists. Our *Alströmer* had now won for himself the most excellent *Connoissenses* even with the Admiralty Lords; so that he came to know all, and did not neglect to report home whatever had some Relation to the Fatherland . . ."

Having recorded this fact the writer evidently regretted his candour, as the sentences are crossed out (Fig. 16) and they are not to be found in either the preserved final version of the notes or in the printed address.

The fact that Alströmer — also thanks to his compatriot Solander — could record the sentiments of the Court and leading political circles in England is apparent from the following passage in a letter dated July 31st 1778, i.e. towards the end of his stay in London.



"It is now said here for a certainty that there is peace once more between Austria and Prussia, but if war starts again between them then *Duc de Gloucester*¹⁹⁾ goes to the Prussian Army, to which he has been urged by the King of Prussia and obtained permission of his brother the King of England. This he himself told to Solander yesterday at the Comedy."

For Sweden, which at this time still had certain possessions in North Germany, information of this sort was particularly valuable, in that Prussia had already acquired parts of Sweden's possessions, and further encroachment was feared.

Johan Alströmer's reports from England are characterised by objectivity and a shrewd evaluation of developments, combined with a markedly critical attitude towards England and the English in general. We shall return to the latter and its causes later on. Critical as he may be of the English his affection and admiration for Joseph Banks knows no bounds. Only his compatriot Daniel Solander is the object of similar esteem.

"Banks and Solander never *manque* and I have them to thank for everything I have here seen and learnt . . . Solander and Banks (a true friend of the Swedes) . . ."

On another occasion Alströmer relates how in the presence of Solander he received a letter from brother Clas and his wife "with uncommonly strong renewed protestations of friendship for me so that I could not but cry for joy". Of Solander:

"Solander, who is Clas's but also the whole Family's sincere friend cried *tout de bon* because of it as much as I, and then I understood better than at any time before his affection for us, but then he lives solely for his friends and is tireless when he can be of some service to them. He is a credit to the Nation both in His Knowledge and His noble way of thinking, all so *opposite* to the ordinary cold nature of the English, and I dare say that no person in England has as many friends, and . . . the tears he shed I shall never forget as long as I live."

His views of England and the English people in general, as expressed in certain of his letters, are a remarkable contrast:

"I might not be myself so very well-bred but even so I find Them gross, coarse, ill-bred, impolite etc. and in degrees according to how Genteel or Wealthy they are. If I see a young fellow who is very Loutish and very Gross then I am certain that he is a Wealthy Baronet or Lord . . . The English Genius should never be mentioned, it never accomplished any great thing, although great things have been accomplished in England, it is English Money that accomplishes everything and it is in all places a mighty Drive-Wheel. It is Gold that lures Foreigners to England, and one can positively say that of all inventions made in England more than half are made by foreigners. An exaggerated *Luxe*

¹⁹⁾ William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, banished from Court after a secret morganatic marriage in 1766. Rehabilitated in 1780.

prevails here . . . but the fall is near, although as yet no change is seen inside the Country . . . In spite of this London is an attractive place for all who love the sciences, inasmuch as all of these are found here to Perfection, and I vow that this has been the sole reason for my lengthy stay here."

Alströmer's critical view of the English character can perhaps in some measure be attributed to certain difficulties he experienced with the delivery of instruments he had ordered. On the point of leaving England he writes in evident irritation:

"Still in London, you exclaim. Yes, still in London for 8 more days I must reply, but this against my will and infinitely much against my intention, but here you do not act as you wish but as you can. England is so free, so exceedingly free, that neither friendship, Money, kind words, nor ought else can *operate* upon an English workman as long as he has something in his purse, and since it is fortunately so that he earns as much in a day as he can tolerably live on the whole week he needs not work any more than 3—4 days to be able to drink for the rest of the week. Several Instruments, useful and necessary both for my journey and for the future I have ordered, and despite my running around daily like a dog, and enlisting the aid of all my friends, it is of no avail for the Instrument-maker himself does not prod his worker in the least, for the English Genius is of such a kind that if a worker has the whim to drink and his Master will pay for one day as much as otherwise for one week he still will not work but instead it is accounted an *honneur* that he has refused. But they all of them can go to the Devil, and whether or not I get what I have ordered I am leaving . . ."

His unflattering opinion of things English may also have been due in part to his own personality. His correspondence shows him as an open-minded and easily accessible individual who enjoyed social life. Be the company large or small the main thing was to have something in common to discuss, something that might create a common interest. This must have resulted in his feeling eminently at ease in the company of Banks, where — thanks to Solander — he was better understood than anywhere else. In his very first letter he regrets his inadequate knowledge of the English language:

"At present I am busy learning English and shamefully poor progress I am making, yet already do I speak nought else. Can I but make soon the *Connaissances* of some pretty Ladies I hope the language will soon be learnt . . ."

Johan Alströmer's letters reveal the deep attachment he felt to his relatives in Sweden. The attitude of reserve customarily assumed in England in the presence of strangers appears to have struck him as extraordinary, not to say offensive:

"Can any Earthly Bliss surpass that of living in a family where all are one, all have one way of thinking and love one another? I shudder when I observe the English Insensi-

bility, where parents and Children *converse* with outward respect for each other but scarcely ever feel any friendship. They are worse than the Mad Turk . . .”

Of course, had Johan Alströmer lived to see developments in England subsequent to the North American war, with the nation's complete integration and superb achievement in face of the renewed French threat under Napoleon, he would have been the first to revise his estimate of the country and its people. As already mentioned, the erroneous judgement made by himself and his brothers of the trade and political situation 1778—79 resulted in the loss of the considerable capital invested by the family, partly for purely patriotic reasons, in North American trade projects.

A contributory cause of his growing irritation as his stay in London came to an end may have been a hint or two from his brothers at home that his journey was becoming too prolonged and too costly. He had indeed felt obliged, as early as in June 1778, to render an account of his doings in London.

“You may wender, my Dear Brother, that you still see me dating my letters from London, but you could not wonder so much over this as some others, who never were in London, for you know what can be seen here, what there is to learn, and, finally, how one can enjoy oneself, particularly when one has friends who in every possible way try to be of service and pleasure. Banks and Solander as well as Lindegren and Grill I count as such, for it is not enough that they personally show me all possible courtesy but They enlist also all Their Friends, and I Positively believe that scarce a Traveller in such short while ever saw as much. 6 months should perhaps not be termed a short time yet it is short enough in a foreign land where one wishes to learn sciences, snap up crafts, and study the nation's *Génie*, aptitudes, Vices, Virtues and Pleasures. Since coming here I have not lived in the grand world, for there one seldom learns anything and here less than in any other place, for there is almost always lacking the freedom without which in my opinion no pleasure exists. 3 times I have been at Court, to wit, when I was presented to the King and to the Queen, and at one festivity. Not one of the great have I called on, but know some of them quite well, this being my reason for not seeking their company, and it is only 2 sorts of company I have frequented, to wit, Banks's Private with His Philosophical friends and Lindegren's . . . You know that dinner is not taken here until between 4 and 5. This is the usual time although I have received cards inviting to dinner at 9 of an evening, but this is only at very prominent people's. The usual *coutume* I rather like, however, for the forenoon is long, during which much can be accomplished without hindrance, in the afternoon on the other hand nothing in the least can be done . . . Company is here seen very seldom, and I believe that in 6 months I have given no more than 5 or 6 dinners . . . You know that one seldom or never gets away from the table until 7 o'clock unless one has made up to go to the Comedy, otherwise one drinks *The'* and then plays *Wist*, *Commerce*, *Quadrille* or *Snip Snap Snorum* with the ladies, for since coming to London I have not played with men on a single occasion. The reason is plain, for their afternoon gatherings never amuse me and if one desires to talk *Raison* with a man this must necessarily be in the forenoons. My afternoon is thus

exploited solely in studying the Nation's *génie* at Comedies, Concerts, *Vauxhall*, *Beaune-laghs* (Ranelaghs) etc. In this manner my time has been passed since I came to London, to wit, all forenoons for sciences and afternoons for what some call Relaxation."

The first letter he wrote from Calais after his departure from England is a similar plea for the defence:

"Now I should tender you, dear Brother, an *Ample Apologie* for tarrying so long in England and for the appreciable Sum of Money there spent by me, yet I find it hard to do either as we meet. Had I been assiduous I might have been able to account for my time, albeit I hope that what I have done will prove that I have not been lazy. The Money Account is more difficult to avoid, particularly since it did not come out from my own Purse. I have neither kept *Maitresse* nor *Équipage* nor *domestiques* beyond my old man-servant . . . but on the contrary have lived rather *tranquille* with few friends . . . never been at any Gambling Club and never played Cards beyond petty games with ladies for amusement, and on girls, who otherwise are costly enough in England, I have *dispensed* rather little . . . Much I have been unable to avoid purchasing . . . Lacquered Tea Sets from Birmingham comprize 1 whole case . . . even if they should be taken away, which I trust will not happen, I now have the whole science to make as good, and I believe that many a man has before tried in vain to spy it out. One who has himself been in England knows that every thing costs uncommonly much and one is scarce allowed to breathe without charge, but everything is twice as expensive since you were here . . ."



BANK'S DONATIONS TO THE ALSTRÖMER MUSEUM

Before going through Johan Alströmer's correspondence for direct references to the Banks Collection we can note that his friendship with Banks and Solander did not result solely in additions to the Alströmer "cabinet of naturalia". He also obtained, for instance, "Tartar oats" (*Polygonum tataricum*), which he forwarded to Sweden for experimental cultivation on the family estates. He kept Banks informed of the outcome of these experiments on his return home. *Nicander* (1791, p. 12) mentions in his memorial address an:

"Excerpt from a Letter to Hr. Banks concerning Tartar Oats, which for Testing were sent home from London and have now succeeded in warm summers at Christinedal and on the estates of Koberg, Nohaga and Kilanda . . ."

The aversion of Banks and Solander to having others partake of their natural scientific discoveries before their publication — this applied particularly to Linnaeus — has already been mentioned (p. 26). It is therefore remarkable, as well as characteristic of the amicable relations existing between Banks, Solander and Johan Alströmer, that the latter on Nov. 21st 1777, i.e. only a month after his arrival in London could report that he was forwarding with Captain Lerberg a "Paquet".

"... with Épreuves or non-retouched prints of some Plates from Hr. Banks's *magnum opus* on herbs . . ."

On July 3rd 1778 Johan Alströmer tells his sister-in-law Christina Maria Silfverschiöld, Patrick Alströmer's wife, that Banks has given him:

"... a *superb* Insect Collection. Next Monday he has promised to open all His chests of Shells from the South Seas, of which I hope to be able to send a rich Collection."

A few days later, on July 10th, he reported that he had received the shells promised him by the Duchess of Portland. This promise he had earlier mentioned in a letter of June 2nd 1778 (see above), in which he also mentioned that he had been promised mineralia from Greisler, and some of Solander's shells, "which nearly all are new".

"All forenoon *c'est à dire* till 4 o'clock I was occupied with splitting the Shells which the Duchess of Portland had presented to the British Museum, Hr. Banks and myself, and for which we have in particular to thank Solander, who always is a devoted friend.

This is only part of Her duplicates, or some of the Bivalves, but she has promised of all, and then Solander will be my *commissionair*. Tomorrow we shall go through, or split, Solander's South Sea shells and then Hr. Banks's, so that I hope to grow rich on it . . ."

Another letter suggests that Alströmer's acquisition of these duplicates was directly due to Solander's having assisted in the preparation of the Duchess's shell collection.

"During his leisure hours Doctor Solander is now arranging this collection in systematic order. He has already found in it many new Species and also some new Genera, which have never before been described . . ."¹⁾

Nicander (1791, p. 12) in his memorial address in honour of Johan Alströmer refers indeed to a "*Description of the Duchess of Portland's Cabinet of Shells*", as having been written by Alströmer and left by him.

Finally, on 24th July, we read:

"Today I have been occupied with going through Hr. Banks's shells, which were in several packing chests, and which have not previously been opened since his return from the South Seas, for He still has not his Cabinet of Shells in order. He opened them solely for me, to give me Duplicates of them, and packed them down again in the chests. I cannot sufficiently acknowledge all the courtesy he shows me, for it is unusual in all places, but particularly here in England . . ."

When, on August 11th, Johan Alströmer posted a packing list covering a shipment of sundry material purchased, the first two items concern two cases marked "I.A. 1" and "I.A. 2" and stated to contain "Shells and some naturalia", evidently in his opinion the most important acquisitions made by him in England.

Of the instruments bought in England Alströmer writes:

"The Theodolite is magnificent, and peerless particularly at levelling. The large Telescope is the same sort as received by the Academy of Sciences, but without a Stand, the which can be purchased to better advantage in Sweden; if Brother Clas does not wish to keep it I believe the Lund Academy would be pleased to have it. 3 small Telescopes I have also sent, the one made by Ramsden,²⁾ which he told me would be better than Dolcomb's,³⁾ but I have not tried it. The other two are by Dolcomb and when You try them You will easily find that they surpass everything one could ever *supponer* of such small tubes, and none at all able to afford them should be without them. One of them I thought could be sent to Cabinet Minister Scheffer for it is so neat that I do not believe anything of this kind ever reached Sweden before."

¹⁾ Besides botany, Solander had also assiduously studied conchology. Later on, from 1779, he acted as Curator at Bulstrode House, in charge of the splendid collection of the then Dowager Duchess of Portland. The collection was disposed of in an auction held in 1786, which occupied thirty-eight days (*Smith* 1911, p. 65, 60 *Wilkins* 1955).

²⁾ *Ramsden, Jesse* (1735–1800), well-known optician and mechanic, transferred his shop to Piccadilly from the Haymarket in 1775. Married 1765 or 1766 Sarah, daughter of . . .

³⁾ . . . *Dollond, John*, F.R.S., receiving as his marriage portion a share of her father's patent for achromatic lenses. Probably identical with the "Dolcomb" mentioned by Alströmer.

He also reports the purchase of "a Camera Obscura", "a neat *Commode* of new invention", various musical instruments, various samples of English manufactures, table plate, lacquer work, whips etc., all of which he intended should be imitated in Sweden, models and drawings of English machinery also meant to be copied, etc. A large proportion of the purchases shipped home on his departure were books. Those listed include Hawkesworth's work on Cook's voyages (*Hawkesworth* 1773). He also sent 100 live goldfish together with glass bowls. These, like the shells, were a present from the Duchess of Portland.

"My intention is to breed their hatches in dams in the Gardens, but then no other fish can be permitted to be with them. Except for those desired for amusement in the rooms, in the Glass Bowls, it would seem best to have the remainder in large troughs in the *orangerie*, I mean the *frigadaires*, and *Lemna* or some other aquatic plant can be sown in the trough to keep the water from turning sour. When I come home I shall attend to their correct inplanting. Those kept indoors need no other care than clean water occasionally, when one fears that the other has turned sour, and always creek or spring water. Sometimes one gives them a little bread and it is amusing to feed them oneself, for they become soon so tame that they will eat out of your hand. A couple of Bowls with these fishes You should have in each house, and someone should be set to see to it that they do not stand in winter in some room where the water can freeze. 2 of the fishes sent home are *monsters*, and infinitely nice and pretty. They have 3-double fins, and crave particular care . . ."

The lengthy and detailed account of the goldfish and their care convincingly demonstrates Alströmer's appreciation of the Duchess's present. When informed that the shipment had arrived safely he writes:

"That the fishes are arrived safely enchants me. Since Podolyn⁴) is taking care of them I am certain that they are well, yet it must be observed only that when fed on bread they should get fresh water often and always creek water, not well-water. I believe it would amuse the girls each to have a Bowl with fishes and then we would see who best looks after them. It need not be more than 4 or 5 to each bowl. More than 2 with triple tails I could not get; when they grow they become exceedingly beautiful . . ."

To sum up, Johan Alströmer's correspondence from London attests to a relationship between Banks, Solander and himself of so amicable a nature that the South Seas specimens in Alströmer's museum can on these grounds alone be assumed to have found their way to Sweden in this way. Johan Alströmer states that he obtained from Banks and Solander shells and other "naturalia" but nowhere indicates that he at the same time received any ethnographica. The conclusive evidence

⁴) *Podolyn, Johann Franz*, born in Lisbon 1739. His father was a Swedish merchant in Lisbon, and Swedish Vice-Consul. A gifted linguist, Johann Podolyn entered service with the Alströmer family and accompanied several members of the family on their travels. Died in Gothenburg in 1787.

that Joseph Banks is the actual donor of the South Seas ethnographica derives from other sources (see p. 56). It is therefore conceivable that Banks did not make his donation of these South Seas objects until after Johan Alströmer's departure, perhaps in compensation for the collections lost in the Alingsås fire shortly afterwards, in 1779 (see p. 54). Further indication as to the manner of its transfer is given in the following (p. 58).

As a final evaluation of Johan Alströmer's visit to London and its purpose we can quote Nicander's memorial address in honour of Patrick Alströmer before the Royal Academy of Sciences (*Nicander* 1833, pp. 4—5 and 8). Nicander is referring to the "study trips" of Johan's elder half-brothers.

"To gain further knowledge . . . Herr Alströmer travelled (1753) to the western mining district, to Sala and Falun, to the northern provinces and later, in the company of two of his brothers, to the southern part of the country and to Denmark. In the course of these journeys, silver, copper, iron, gold, sulphur, vitriol and alum-works, dying-works, work-shops and factories of various kinds, all were inspected. Everything of note was memorized, the processes at the mining works, the working of the metals, techniques and methods in the workshops: drawings of instruments were copied, and purchased, samples of raw materials and substances in various stages of refinement were collected; finished products were purchased to serve as models for the future . . ."

"His brothers — conjoined with Him both in the Pursuit of Knowledge and in their Zeal for the Progress of the Nation — (subsequently — Ed.) assumed the task of obtaining information on whatever he desired. They journeyed, one after the other, to countries where industries had already gained a foothold, and to such where they had been neglected but where the climate none the less favoured certain produce elsewhere not procurable. They sent home descriptions of Spanish wool and sheep-breeding . . ."

"English and French factories, spinning-mills and dye-houses; of German agriculture and cattle-raising; they sent home samples of the raw materials and products of all these countries; of their tools, machines and farm implements; and, upon their return home, the cabinet initiated by their father was enriched by naturalia, books and instruments . . ."

By the time of Johan Alströmer's journey to England, however, a new feature had entered the picture, namely a vivid interest in political developments, and in the people of the nation visited. This, as we have seen, resulted on occasion, in a critical attitude towards them.

FIRE DEVASTATES THE ALSTRÖMER MUSEUM

Leaving Dover and England on Oct. 23rd 1778, Johan Alströmer continued his "grand tour" via France to Italy. In Rome a message reached him that the family museum and library at Alingsås had been partially destroyed by fire. It fell to his sister-in-law "sweet Stina-Maja" to communicate the doleful tidings. Dr. Fagraeus, who was in charge of the collections, had "dragged off to his own home a whole Library and almost the entire collection of Naturalia". The good doctor had a lodger, who like his host, was a staunch votary of Bacchus, this apparently having had something to do with the conflagration. In Johan Alströmer's reply one notes his great sorrow, but also a certain stoical detachment in face of the calamity, and a desire to make good his losses:

"Now I fear to be informed that a large part of the Naturalia I sent from England, and which I received from Banks and Solander, has suffered the same fate . . . I shall also send *circulaire* to all of my *Connaissances*, who I now hope of compassion will the more quickly essay to repair our losses. Fortunate were it also if this misfortune could modify Fagraeus's appetite for *schnaps*." (Rome Nov. 27th 1779).

There is little in the archives to indicate how much, if anything, of the English collections was saved. In the Östad archives, however, there exist both a draft and a written-out account of Johan Alströmer's journey abroad. Since he is here referred to as "the late Herr Baron Alströmer" these must have come into being after his death in 1786. Certain sections are reminiscent of the wording used by *Nicander* (1791) in his previously mentioned memorial address. The assumption is warranted that this account served as a basis for the address in question. The details of the journey as given in the account have apparently been taken directly from Johan Alströmer's own letters, and perhaps also from some diary kept by him. The wording of certain parts is identical with that of the letters. A crossed-out sentence in the draft reads:

"Such a Contrivance (a Fire and Air Machine of Boulton's in Birmingham — Ed.) I hope to be able to establish in Sweden, God willing, upon my return . . ."

And elsewhere we find:

" . . . that in the Alströmer Library nothing was missing prior to that unfortunate Fire which visited it as well as *my* (Editor's italics) costly Library in the year 1779 . . ."

This latter note seems to indicate that the data on Alströmer's journey were obtained by Nicander from Dr. Fagraeus.

From the following item's in Fagraeus's notes it would indeed appear that the Banks-Solander presents actually escaped the Alingsås disaster:

"When now the Duchess of Portland bequeathed to the British Museum, to *Sir Banks* and *Solander* all Duplicates in her large Collection of Shells, the largest that ever existed anywhere in this World, our *Alströmer* received not only his share thereof but also, on the same Occasion, Specimens of all the Shells and Mussels which these Gentlemen had collected in the South Seas and which now adorn the bountiful Alströmer Cabinet at Gåsevadholm, which probably has not its like in all Sweden . . ."

And:

"In His Letter of this Date our Grateful Alströmer regrets that he can never sufficiently laud *Sir Banks'* incomparable friendship and kindness to Him, whereby he received not only a costly share of the *South Islands' Artificial Products* (Editor's italics) but also of the Animals, the Herbs and Mineralia there extant. The Baronial Collection at Gåsevadholm is thus surely the richest in South Sea Products that exists in Sweden. From Sir Joseph Banks our Traveller received some uncommonly beautiful Figures (More Properly Paintings) of *Alstroemeria Pelegrina*, *Ligtu*, *Salsilla* and *Pulchella* all painted on large Parchment in folio, Which Paintings for ever embellish the Alströmer Cabinet at Gåsevadholm . . ."¹⁾

"The South Islands' artificial Products" could scarcely refer to anything but the ethnographical collection dealt with here. The paintings mentioned are those referred to by Alströmer when he relates in a letter that Banks had let a prominent miniature painter execute them in order to present them to Alströmer 29. The bulk of Banks' donations must consequently have been in existence as late as at the time of Johan Alströmer's death in 1786.

In the year 1785 Clas Alströmer's illness compelled him to retire to Gåsevadholm. Johan Alströmer's death in the following year may have instigated the removal of what remained of the library and collections to this estate.

A letter from Clas Alströmer to brother Patrick, dated Gåsevadholm Jan. 14th 1786 contains the following passages:

"It is incomprehensible what Hr. Dahl²⁾ is doing so long at Alingsås. Try to inform yourself of this and advise me, and tell Dahl to return all the collections (he has removed . . ."

¹⁾ Cf. p. 35.

²⁾ *Dahl, Anders* (1751–1789), one of Linnaeus's most promising pupils, had been employed by Clas Alströmer to prepare and enlarge the collections and, in collaboration with Fagraeus, to care for the botanical gardens laid out by Clas Alströmer at Christinedahl (cf. 12).

"Since you are in consultation with Nils³⁾ and Jon,⁴⁾ then talk also of the collections at Christinedahl, and if I should not be allowed to take the Building in which Dahl lives until I have set other buildings in order."

Dubb (1796, pp. 55—56) says of the move

"... Naturalia, Models and Physical Instruments, and the Library, needed to be brought together and set in order; for, apart from a limited but choice Hand Library, they were dispersed, and while the one part was at Christinedahl, and another in Gothenburg, the largest part was poorly housed at Alingsås. Now therefore everything was moved to Gåsevadholm and there set in order..."

The remarkable objects noted by Miranda in 1787 were precisely this "cabinet of naturalia" which can be taken to have included also the ethnographical collection. Ethnography as a separate branch of science was not born until about a century later.

As yet, admittedly, we have no definite evidence that the ethnographical specimens were included in the donations from Banks and Solander, or that they stem from them at all.

It was in this situation that I came across, in the *Journal of the Educational Society* (*Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* 1784, pp. 142—143), a description of the part of the Alströmer Museum kept at Christinedahl, near Gothenburg (Fig. 12):

Gothenburg. Among this Town's foremost Marvels and Embellishments should reasonably be counted the Cabinet founded by Chancellery Councillor and Commander of the Royal Order of Wasa, Herr Baron *Clas Alströmer*. This Cabinet is one of the richest and costliest in all Europe. It contains several Herbaria, or Collections of Plants procured from all Continents, which both in number and in the fair Appearance of the Specimens have earned this Collection the foremost place not only in Sweden but also . . . in Europe. Further, Collections of Insects, Shells, species of Marble, Stone Formations, countless Animals in *Spiritus Vini* and a pretty Collection of several hundreds of stuffed Birds, from the largest to the smallest, all in their natural postures and with artificial eyes, whereby they appear as if alive . . . *A splendid Collection of Costumes, Household Implements and Weapons, both for Attack and for Defense, numerous pieces of Cloth and other Curiosities, from the newly discovered lands in the South Seas, and in particular from the island of Otaheiti the most perfected Collection next to that of Herr Banks in London, who has presented to Herr Chancellery Councillor Baron Alströmer all that he possessed thereof in duplo.* (Editors' italics.)"

This item, in *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar*, fascule for March 1784, is unsigned. It is possible that it was written by the publisher himself, Carl Christoffer Gjörwell (1731—1811) following a visit to Gothenburg.

³⁾ *Silfverschiöld, Nils* (1753—1813), Baron, Major, husband of *Anna Margareta Alströmer* (1766—92), daughter of August Alströmer. Cf. p. 14.

⁴⁾ Brother Johan, who died the same year, or less likely Patrik Alströmer's son Jonas who at this time was not yet 15 (cf. genealogy p. 14).

More likely, however, it was written by the botanist Olof Peter Swartz (1760—1818, cf. p. 66) who passed through Gothenburg en route to North America and the West Indies, and who in a signed travel account in the succeeding fascicule of the same journal, for the month of April, included a brief description of Clas Alströmer's botanical garden at Christinedahl (cf. also *Peterson* 1948).

Thus, at long last, we have a statement that definitely links the Alströmer Collection in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden with the renowned English scientist and his Swedish assistant. At the same time, the circumstances involved date its origin to Captain Cook's first expedition to the South Seas in the Endeavour in 1769.

Collections and occasional objects from Cook's voyages are to be found in several museums, but the particular voyage to which these objects belong is seldom known with any certainty. Since Sir Joseph and Solander participated in the first voyage only, the objects donated by Sir Joseph, or at least the bulk of them, were almost certainly collected by himself on that occasion. We therefore have here a collection which we have reason to believe is the earliest to have reached Europe that still survives virtually intact. We shall return to this in the following (p. 68).

LINNAEUS THE YOUNGER AN INTERMEDIARY?

Johan Alströmer was in England 1777—78, while the first statement to the effect that the Banks collection had been incorporated with the Alströmer Museum dates to 1783 (although not published until 1784, cf. p. 56). Consequently the collection must have found its way to Sweden some time between 1778 and 1783. It has, however, proved impossible to determine the exact time for its transfer. Solander died in 1782, and Banks's concern for the Alströmer Museum might be expected to have dwindled after this — but presents in the form of "naturalia" continued to be exchanged so that nothing can be said with certainty.

In a letter dated Göttingen (Germany), January 30th 1783, the German naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1732—1840) expresses his gratitude to Joseph Banks over the fact that "the University has received a superb collection of (ethnographical? — Ed.) "curiosities" from Cook's 2nd and 3rd voyages, although it has nothing from the 1st" (Dawson 1958, p. 110). The last phrase may have been a discreet hint that such would also be welcome. This detail in the letter may also indicate that when Banks sent to Blumenbach the collection from the second and third voyages he had no specimens — or at least no duplicates — left from the first. The fact is that he had already "presented to Herr Chancellor Councillor Baron Alströmer all that he possessed thereof *in duplo*".

Some objects in the Banks donation to Alströmer stem in fact from islands not visited by Cook until his second voyage, e.g. the Tonga group (p. 70). This could indicate that Banks, even when he donated the collection, was short of objects collected by himself and supplemented his donation by objects received by himself from Cook or someone else after the second voyage. At the time of Alströmer's visit to London, Cook was making his third and last voyage.

Shortly before Solander's death in 1782, Linnaeus the Younger visited London (Uggla 1954). Solander did not allow himself to be influenced by his feelings towards his former tutor, the now deceased Linnaeus the Elder (see p. 26), and both he and Banks received the young man with the same courtesy as they had shown Johan Alströmer. Incidentally, the

young man's visit had only been made possible by a loan from his friend and patron Clas Alströmer — with a “lesser herbarium” as collateral. On the death of Linnaeus the Younger in 1783 this herbarium passed to Alströmer and was included in the herbarium donated in 1848, with the Alströmer Collection, to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm. Johan Alströmer provided Linnaeus the Younger with a warm letter of recommendation to Joseph Banks (*Uggla* 1954). Before his departure from Sweden Linnaeus also met Clas and Patrick Alströmer in Gothenburg. The latter, in his “Diarium” (now in the Östad archives) makes the following entry for Thursday April 21st, 1781:

“... practised music in the evening at Br. Clas's with Cornet Bratt and Jonas (Patrick's son, cf. p. 15 — Ed.). Professor Linnaeus and Hr. Cederberg arrived this evening at 7 o'clock and sailed at 4 o'clock the following morning with Mårtenson to England.”

Following a most profitable stay with Banks and Solander, Linnaeus the younger left England in August 1782 for Sweden via France, Holland, Germany and Denmark. Just before his departure from London, Daniel Solander died. Back in Sweden, on his way home to Upsala, Linnaeus made a detour to Gothenburg to see Clas Alströmer (*Uggla* 1954, p. 77). That Linnaeus the younger was instrumental in the transfer of the Banks ethnographical collection to Sweden — he died that same year — is not inconceivable, but we have no sources that confirm such an assumption. If he, in fact, persuaded Banks and Solander to donate the collection he must also have arranged its transfer to Sweden before leaving England to return home via the Continent. In this case the Banks donation was no doubt an act of friendship designed to compensate the Alströmer brothers for the losses suffered in the fire at Alingsås in 1778 (cf. p. 54).

A MEMORIAL TO DANIEL SOLANDER

In connection with Solander's death in London in 1782, *Upfostrings-Sälskapets Tidningar* (1784, No. 24 pp. 190—191) carried the following item:

"Gothenburg. Chancellery Councillor and Commander of the Royal Order of Wasa Herr Baron Clas Alströmer and Director Herr Johan Alströmer have recently caused to be struck a Medal in memory of the renowned Swedish Natural Scientist Herr Doct. Dan. Solander, who, to the great loss of Natural History, died in London in 1782. The obverse shows Herr Solander's Head, with the Flower *Solandra* delineated beside, and the Name: *Daniel Solander*. The reverse has only the following Inscription:

Josepho Banks
Effigiem Amici
Merito
D. D. D.
Cl. et Joh.
Alströmer

"Herr Banks was Herr Doct. Solander's closest Friend, and had with him made the Voyage to the South Seas, wherefore also these his Swedish Friends have dedicated to Herr Banks the Medal, struck by the Royal *Medailleur* in Stockholm, Herr Professor G. Ljungberger."

The succeeding issue of the same periodical (*Upfostringssälskapets Tidningar* 1784, No. 25, p. 272) announces:

"With this n:o is distributed the Print pertaining to April 1784 of these Papers and representing the Medal recently struck in Memory of the late Herr *Solander* and described in these Papers n:o 24."

The print which shows both sides of the medal, is to judge from the signature is the work of C. C. Gjörwell, a son of the publisher.

Dubb (1796, pp. 55—56) in his memorial address in honour of Clas Alströmer refers to the medal as follows:

"For the appreciable addition to the Herb Collection that was the result of Sir Joseph Banks's and Solander's friendship, the Herr Baron, together with his brother Johan Alströmer, felt obliged to have struck by way of acknowledgement on Solander's death, a Memorial Coin, representing . . ."

Apart from the medal, the Alströmer brothers commemorated Solander also in other ways. Thus *Dubb* (1796, pp. 55—56) relates that:

"... the Herr Baron donated Prize Funds to the Royal Society of Science and Letters in Gothenburg to provide a worthy Monument to this his late Friend ..."

Unfortunately no information as to this donation and its subsequent application is now to be found in the Society's records. The earliest minutes are likely to have been lost in the fires that damaged the town towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. A reference is to be found, on the other hand, in *Upföstrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* (1785, p. 91):

"Similarly a Gold Medal of 12 Ducats' weight was struck in the year 1783 as a Prize to whoever before the end of 1784 should submit to the Society a Memorial in honour of the late Doctor Daniel Carlsson Solander, Curator of the British Museum in London, the which would lend to the fullest gratification of the Society ..."

It was announced at the same time that two entries had been sent in but not been approved, so that the time limit was to be extended.

Numerous Swedes were assisted by Daniel Solander in one way or another during their visits to London (*Rydberg* 1951, p. 266 ff.). No epitaph could have been more apt than that given him by Sir Joseph Banks in a letter to Johan Alströmer and published in *Upföstrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* (1785, pp. 105—110). Added to it is the following note by Johan Alströmer:

"Who with more vivid Strokes could picture a lost Friend than Banks his Solander? The same Inclination to Civic Virtue and the same Zeal for Science in both results in the character of the one being recognized by the other. I make public these Anecdotes so much the more willingly as they mark the most tender Friendship, and may serve as the best Embellishments to that Memorial to Solander for which the Royal Society of Science and Letters in Gothenburg has taken the initiative."

By dedicating the medal (Fig. 17) to Joseph Banks, Solander's friend, the Alströmers clearly desired also to express their gratitude for the collections presented to them by the illustrious English scientist and his Swedish colleague.

Daniel Solander has found his last resting place at Woking, to which his remains were moved in 1913 when the Swedish Church in London town was pulled down (*Mörner* 1923, p. 43). On his grave a tombstone was raised by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (Fig. 19), which also dedicated to Daniel Solander in 1940 the commemorative medal shown in Fig. 13. On the obverse side this medal reads: "*Daniel Solander, nat. MDCCXXXIII, ob. MDCCLXXXII*". On the reverse: "*Linnaeo praeceptore dignus doctrinam eius propagavit exoticas res exploravit.*" On this medal, too, one finds at the bottom a blossoming stem of the genus *Solandra*, with the family name, and the legend "*Socio meritissimo R. Acad. scient. suec. MCMXL*" (Fig. 18).

RUMOURED SWEDISH DESCENT OF SIR JOSEPH BANKS

A specimen of the medal struck by the Alströmer brothers in memory of their late friend Daniel Solander, and dedicated in the manner of the time also to his English friend and patron Sir Joseph Banks is kept in the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals in Stockholm. In the catalogue it is stated to have been struck in the year 1783 (cf. *Hildebrand* 1860), and it is accompanied by the following strange annotation:

"Sir Joseph Banks was the grandson of the Swedish-born but English-naturalized naval officer and Member of Parliament Jakob Banks (in Sweden named Bank)."

The suggestion that Sir Joseph Banks was of Swedish descent is to be met also elsewhere:

"His family is said to have been of noble Swedish extraction, and the first of whom we find any account was Simon Banks, who in the reign of Edward the Third married the daughter and heiress of Catterton, of Newton, Yorkshire" (*Maiden* 1909, p. XVII, after *George Suttor: Memoirs, Historical and Scientific of the Right Hon. Sir. Joseph Banks*, 1855, p. 26).

Banks' own notes concerning his descent, published by *Cameron* (1952 pp. 281—285), give no indication whatsoever of any Swedish ancestry. Banks's predilection for Swedish assistants — Daniel Solander was succeeded by another Swede and pupil of Linnaeus Jonas Carlsson Dryander (*Fries* 1903, Vol. II, pp. 64, 417, *Rydberg* 1951, p. 280) — may have been a mere coincidence. It may be a coincidence too that a Swede, Uno von Troil (1746—1803), later Archbishop of Upsala, accompanied Banks and Solander on their voyage to Iceland in 1772 (*Smith* 1911, p. 32, *Rydberg* 1951, p. 316 ff, *Cameron* 1952, pp. 57—58). It should also be mentioned however, that another Swede and pupil of Linnaeus, Henric Gahn (*Nilsson* 1945, p. 11, *Rydberg* 1951, p. 276), was offered a chance of joining Cook's second expedition. In the end it was yet another Swede, Anders Sparrman, who was to make this voyage. Herman Didrich Spöring, who accompanied Banks and Solander on board the Endeavour as secretary, was also Swedish. He was born in Åbo, Finland in 1730 (*Beaglehole* 1962, Vol. I, pp. 24, 27) and Finland belonged at this time to Sweden.

A pupil of Linnaeus, Anders H. Berlin (1746—1773), who arrived in England 1770 was employed by Banks for a short while (*Fries* 1903, Vol. II, p. 49, *Rydberg* 1951, p. 275). Another Swede and pupil of Linnaeus supported in his work by Banks was the botanist Adam Afzelius (1750—1837) in the employ of the Sierra Leone Company in West Africa during the 1790's (*Smith* 1911, pp. 153—155, *Fries* 1950, p. 30). There was also the physician Fredrik Schulzen (1770—1849, cf. *Dawson* 1958, 752, *Sacklén* 1824, Avd. 2: 2), who arrived in London in 1797¹⁾ and was employed by Banks for three years.

Bank's circle included also a "Mr. Backstrom, secretary" (*Cameron* 1952, p. 295). *Smith* (1911, pp. 187—188) states that his Christian name was Sigismund, that he was a doctor, and that he accompanied Banks on the voyage to Iceland that took the place of the cancelled second voyage with Cook. *Beaglehole* (1962, Vol. I, p. 68) confirms and complements this information, and suggests that Backstrom — he writes the name also BacStrom — was a Dutchman. The name bears, however, such a striking similarity to the relatively common Swedish name of Bäckström²⁾ that there is reason to suppose that this Backstrom may have been of Swedish descent, particularly in view of the lively contacts between Sweden and Holland at this time.

Banks was famous not only for his great hospitality, but also for the generous way in which he shared his collections and results (*Smith* 1911, p. 90). He appears to have been equally esteemed for the liberal use he made of his large fortune and influence to support various scientists in their work. The hospitality shown by Banks to Swedish natural scientists was also experienced by Linnaeus the Younger (cf. p. 58) and Carl Peter Thunberg (*Smith* 1911, p. 97). The donations discussed here and the facts given concerning his collaboration with various Swedish citizens are only a few among many instances of his generosity towards all and everybody working in the cause of science.

The background to the suggestions that Sir Joseph Banks was of Swedish descent has, however, already been clarified (article on Jacob Banks by *B. Boethius*.³⁾ The error is a simple case of mistaken identity.

In the year 1680 a young Swede, *Jacob Banks*, born in Stockholm in 1662, arrived in England. In Sweden his name was spelt Banck. He entered service with the English Navy, distinguished himself by his

¹⁾ For this date I am indebted to C. O. von Sydow, Upsala.

²⁾ The publisher of the Alströmer correspondence (*Bäckström* 1958) bore this name.

³⁾ (*Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* Vol. II Stockholm 1920, pp. 710—716.) I am indebted to Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, Ph. D, for reference to this work.

exceptional valour, and advanced to the rank of Captain and Master Mariner. In December 1696 he married a well-to-do English woman of prominent family, Mary Tregonwell, daughter of John Tregonwell and widow of Francis Luttrell of Dunster Castle. From now on his home was Milton Abbey in Dorset. The Luttrells controlled the parliamentary elections in the tiny borough of Minehead in Somerset, and a couple of years after his marriage Jacob Banks assumed his seat in the House of Commons. He was Member of Parliament for Minehead during the period 1698—1713, Knight Bachelor 1698 and possibly identical with the Sir Jacob Banks who in 1702 was appointed Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant of Berkshire, Hampshire and Dorset. Several of his Swedish relatives were raised to the nobility. He died in London in 1724. His sons Johan (d. 1725) and Jacob (d. 1738) both died without issue. The latter was, like his father, a Member of Parliament.

This, in brief, is what Boethius has to tell us of this extraordinary Swede who, according to his epitaph, “became a true Englishman, a sincere lover of England’s isle and its Church and in every situation the loyal defender of both.” Boethius adds:

“Wholly erroneous is an assumption often found and repeatedly refuted or questioned that Linnaeus’s contemporary Sir Joseph Banks was a descendant of the Swedish-English family of Banks, but the confusion is so much the more explicable in that his grandfather, Sir Joseph Banks — a contemporary of the Jacob Banks the Younger mentioned above — became in May 1728 Member of Parliament for Peterborough . . .”

Sir Joseph Banks’s great-grandfather Joseph Banks (b. 1665, d. 1727) was a Member of Parliament for Grimsby and later also for Totnes (*Smith* 1911, p. 3, *Cameron* 1952, p. 281). He was thus contemporary with the Swedish-born Jacob Banks.

LETTERS BETWEEN BANKS AND THE ALSTRÖMERS AFTER SOLANDER'S DEATH

While in London Johan Alströmer endeavoured to the best of his ability to return Banks's kindnesses by means of various presents. To brother Patrick he writes:

"Banks would like to see the new Species of Pine which you have found¹⁾ but as the needles fall off when dry he asks you to put a twig with a Cone etc. in *Spiritus Vini* and send this by the first berth from Stockholm, for they have just now been occupied in distinguishing all Species of Fir and Pine. If seed could be had for the Gardens here, Mr. Aiton's and Mr. Lee's, this would be excellent . . ."

And to sister-in-law Sara, the wife of Clas Alströmer:

"... if (it is) possible to send at once down to Gothenburg 4 cold Grouse Pies which Brother Patrick can then send hither to London by the first free berth. The Grouse to be taken as fresh as ever can be had. It is only to make Presents to my friends, who have shown me an exquisite courtesy. Such things people esteem here above all else. If they are addressed to Lindegren they will know how to send them. It is 1 for Lindegren, 1 for Banks, 1 for Solander to give Lord Sandwich and 1 for Mr. Greville . . ."

By June 5th the pies have arrived:

"... one I have seen opened, which was quite good. I am longing for my Muskets, to be able to give them to Banks before I depart . . ."

Of the muskets he writes later:

"... I was very happy to receive the Muskets I wrote for, which all arrived in Order, wherefore I am Yourself and Brother Patrick much obliged, for I could never make Banks a more welcome Present. He liked them infinitely much . . ."

Dawson (1958, pp. 16—17) has recently published an exhaustive account of Banks's extensive correspondence. From this account it would appear that a quite brisk exchange of letters was maintained between Banks and the Alströmer brothers after Johan Alströmer's departure from England. The Alströmer brothers send sundry "naturalia" to Banks. Sir Joseph's wife, or more probably, sister, who once

¹⁾ While journeying from Gothenburg to Stockholm Clas Alströmer found in the vicinity of Malmby Inn, in the province of Sörmland, one specimen of *Pinus Viminalis* (Dubb 1796 p. 58), which he described in the Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (*Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar* Stockholm 1777, pp. 310—317).



invited Johan Alströmer to supper and thereby furnished him with a welcome excuse to wear the "Swedish costume" then newly introduced in his native country — "... which of everybody Old and Young ... was admired and considered exceptionally beautiful ..." — receives a pair of exquisite gloves made in the south of Sweden. In a letter dated Nov. 1784 Banks mentions that he has received, for Matthew Boulton and James Watt, two of the silver medals struck in memory of Solander, by way of thanks for the kind reception accorded to Johan Alströmer five years earlier (*Dawson* 1958, p. 146). Swedes about to visit England for the purpose of study are occasionally recommended to Banks by Patrick Alströmer. In the Alströmer archives in Upsala there is a copy of such a letter of recommendation for Charles B. Rutström, dated Sept. 18th 1792.

Nor, in conclusion, should we forget Sir Joseph Banks' concern for Solander's aged mother and sister. On Solander's death these two were living in humble circumstances which soon deteriorated into utter misery. When told of this Sir Joseph at once donated a sum of £ 250. The interest on this was to go to Solander's survivors. When they died, the donation was to go to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, where the interest on it was to be used as an additional emolument for Banks's good friend the botanist Olof Swartz. The money was duly transferred to Stockholm in 1809 (*Dawson* 1958, pp. 592, 773, 800), by which time none of the Alströmer brothers was alive.

THE BANKS ETHNOGRAPHICAL COLLECTION

In Sir Joseph Banks's own notes from the voyage on the *Endeavour* there are to be found certain annotations that shed light on the barter with the natives and the manner in which his ethnographical collection was built up.

The stores carried by Captain Cook for trade with the natives were limited, and this led from the start to a certain restraint when trading with the Tahitians commenced. Of his first personal encounter with these, Sir Joseph says (*Hooker* 1896, p. 73):

"... They had one pig with them which they refused to sell for nails upon any account, but repeatedly offered it for a hatchet; of these we had very few onboard, so thought it better to let the pig go than give one of them in exchange, knowing, on the authority of those who had been here before, that if we did so they would never lower their price ..."

Captain Cook, to be sure, issued stringent rules for trade with the natives (*Cameron* 1952 pp. 24, 314, *Beaglehole* 1955, pp. 520—521):

"... A Proper person or Persons will be appointed to trade with the Natives for all manner of Provisions fruit & other productions of the Earth ... and no officer or seaman or other Person belonging to the Ship (excepting such as are so appointed [by me for that purpose]) shall trade or offer to trade for any sort of Provisions ... No sort of Toys, Beeds, Glass Buttons or other &c that serve only for ornaments are to be given in exchange for Provisions these are to be exchanged for fruit, and such curiosities as the natives may have and are willing to part with. No short (Sort of) Iron or any thing that is made of Iron, or any sort of Cloth or other usefull or necessary Articles are to be given in exchange for any thing but provisions ..."

Certain ethnographical objects were apparently received by the people on the *Endeavour* by way of welcoming gifts, mainly bark cloth—*tapa*. These gifts had, however, to be reciprocated by the crew (*Hooker* 1896, pp. 75, 76, 77, 101, etc.). For that matter, the *tapa* from Tahiti was subsequently used by Captain Cook as an object of barter on New Zealand (*Hooker* 1896, p. 191). Monkhouse, the ship's surgeon, writes as follows (*Beaglehole* 1955, p. 572):

"... The people remaining in the Canoes had, in the mean time, traded very freely with our People, bartering their Cloathing, weapons, and ornaments for the Otaheite Cloth ..."

These excerpts from contemporary records should suffice to show how Sir Joseph Banks acquired such ethnographical specimens as were subsequently incorporated with the Alströmer Collection. At the same time the assumption is warranted that the scientists — Banks and Solander — were in a better position to acquire ethnographica than the rest of those on board. On the other hand, the Endeavour was a relatively small vessel whose cargo space had to be used for equipment, stores, etc., which limited the amount of bulky ethnographica that could be taken back. Again, the primary task of Banks and Solander was natural-historical studies — if they were short of storage space it would have to be utilized in the first place for herbaria, shells and other “naturalia”. For Captain Cook and his scientist colleagues the collection of ethnographica — “curiosities”, or, as Dr. Fagraeus put in his note on Nicander’s memorial address in honour of Johan Alströmer, “the South Islands’ artificial products” (p. 55) — was a secondary consideration.

Entries by both Captain Cook and Sir Joseph in their journals reveal a special interest in objects made of raw material that might conceivably be used for manufacturing in Europe, such as the New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*). Samples of *Phormium tenax* fibre are thus comprised in the Banks’ collection and in the Banks donation to the Alströmer Museum. Spinning and weaving-mills were part of the Alströmer enterprises at Alingsås.

It would appear from the above that the ethnographical collection brought home by Joseph Banks from his voyage to the South Seas cannot have been overly large. The description of Alströmer’s museum at Christinedal says indeed that “Banks donated all he possessed *in duplo* to Alströmer” (p. 56) and that it was “the most perfected collection in this respect next to Herr Banks’s own in London” (p. 56), but Sir Joseph’s own collection could scarcely have been larger, as is confirmed by his correspondence with Blumenbach (p. 58).

Cook collections or occasional objects from Captain Cook’s voyages are to be found in several museums — London, Oxford, Dublin, Florence, Vienna, Berne (*Smith* 1960 p. 89—91, *Giglioli* 1893, *Mordini* 1934, *Moschner* 1955, *Henking* 1957) — but these seem to comprise mainly objects collected on the second and third voyages. Such a collection is the other Cook collection in the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, completed by Anders Sparrman during the second voyage (*Söderström* 1939).

The report on the Alströmer Museum and its ethnographical specimens published in *Upfostrings-Sällskapets Tidningar* 1784 (p. 56) is limited to a mention of the Banks donation of objects from the South Seas, indicating that this was the outstanding part of the ethnographica in the Alströmer Museum.

Even in the remains of the Alströmer Museum donated by the brothers Alströmer in 1848 the South Sea objects predominate. Of the total of 67 objects, 54 come from the South Seas and Tierra del Fuego — Tierra del Fuego being included since Cook visited this area on his first voyage, together with Banks and Solander. As will appear, however, from the following, a few of these “South Sea objects” — about five — probably have nothing to do with the Banks donation.

A publication of other, “non-South Sea”, objects in the Alströmer donation of 1848 — and also from the Alströmer Museum — is being prepared. These are mainly objects brought home by Swedish travellers to the East Indies, a courtier’s costume from Turkey etc. In the list of objects in Alströmer’s donation of 1848, now in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden (p. 71) these objects are followed by the annotation: *Not published.*

The majority of objects in the Alströmer Collection are marked by an often slightly damaged label carrying the legend “*Coll. Alströmer: vet: (1848)*”. Thanks to this it has proved possible when preparing this study to identify some South Sea objects and others not found in the catalogue to the Collection as comprised in the Alströmer donation of 1848. This would seem to show that the cataloguing of Alströmer’s donation was never finished. All the objects have been labelled, but the writing out of the catalogue has not been completed. When it has been possible to identify objects with the help of the labels stating that they belong to the Alströmer donation this has been mentioned in the description of the objects given below.

The accompanying incomplete catalogue in the museum files may have had as prototype an earlier catalogue based on data furnished by Sir Joseph himself. Annotations like “*formerly very common in New Zealand*” in connection with one of the clubs (Fig. 38 left p. 84) suggest, however, that such an earlier catalogue, if it existed, was later complemented. Again, some of the attributions in the actual catalogue are obvious errors. Thus the New Zealand belts (Fig. 42 p. 89) are stated to come from “*Africa*”, and the typical arrows from Magellan Strait (Fig. 53: B—E p. 95) are marked “*Africa, possibly Polynesia*” — errors inconceivable if this earlier catalogue had actually been based on data supplied by

Sir Joseph. A small plaited carpet (Figs. 56—57 p. 102) from Spain, brought home probably by Johan Alströmer's brother Clas, has been marked "*Australia*". A spear (Fig. 53: N p. 94) or possibly a sort of lengthier handle of palm wood, probably from Polynesia, has been given the same, surely erroneous, designation. At times these fallacious notes are written in another hand and another ink, suggesting that they were added on subsequent occasions. The impression is thus gained that this catalogue was compiled following the transfer of the Alströmer Collection to the Royal Academy of Sciences and that the source of the objects was in many cases arrived at on this occasion by means of comparison with other similar objects in the Academy's ethnographical collections.

A considerable proportion of the South Sea objects in the Alströmer (Banks) Collection consists of specimens whose provenance in the original catalogue is given merely as "*Polynesia*" and whose further geographical localisation is problematical (p. 91 and foll.). A number of these it has been possible to transfer to "*New Zealand*" or "*Tahiti*". On the other hand, some of the previously uncatalogued objects mentioned earlier on, to which there belong simply the original labels stating that they were part of the Alströmer collection, and which come from the South Seas, have been assigned to this group of "Polynesian objects", as will be clear from the following.

An additional risk run by old collections of this kind is the loss of labels and their haphazard replacement in connection with subsequent re-labelling by indistinct labels from objects in more or less irrelevant collections. Arrow heads are lost and are perhaps replaced by others etc. This has evidently occurred also in the case of the Alströmer Collection. For instance, some arrows deriving from areas definitely never visited by Captain Cook — such as New Guinea — are now included in the Collection. Nor is it possible, since these areas are located way off the routes of Cook's voyages, to explain the appearance of these extraneous objects in the Alströmer Collection as trade goods or war booty acquired from the natives during calls at, say, Tahiti. These objects are therefore dealt with separately (p. 98 and foll.).

The occurrence in the collection of objects from islands visited by Cook on his second voyage (cf. p. 58) can be given an acceptable explanation. Banks has received them from Cook and has since in his turn given them to the Alströmer Museum to make his donation larger and more valuable.

In the description given below (p. 73 and foll.) all the information — correct or not — given in the original catalogue has been printed in *Italics*.

On the basis of the renewed consideration of the Alströmer (Banks) Collection now completed, the "South Sea objects" are drawn in on the map in miniature along with their catalogue nos. (Fig. 58, cf. List pp. 71—73). We see how they group themselves along the route of Cook's first voyage, with the objects of whose provenance there is no doubt grouped around Tierra del Fuego (5 objects), the Society Islands, Tahiti (9 objects), and New Zealand (19 objects), leaving another group (8 objects) of which at present we cannot say much more than that they come from Polynesia. Three of the objects marked come from the Tonga Islands, two unmarked from the New Hebrides (?), both of them islands which were visited by Cook on his second voyage, 7 unmarked objects come from areas so far off the routes of his first two voyages — Solomon Islands, New Guinea — that they can hardly have anything to do with the Banks donation or are of uncertain — Poynesian (?) — provenance.

At the time of Johan Alströmer's visit to London, Cook had completed his first two expeditions to the South Seas and just started the third — from which he was never to return. If Banks's collection was transferred to the Alströmer Museum in connection with this visit — which is most likely — it obviously could not have contained anything but objects from Cook's first (1768—71) and second (1772—75) voyages.

Joseph Banks had planned to accompany Captain Cook also on his second voyage but changed his mind. He maintained his relationship with the great explorer however, and, as appears from his correspondence with the German scientist Blumenbach (p. 58), received also objects from the subsequent voyages, some of which were presented to Blumenbach as well as to the Alströmer brothers. The Tongan and New Hebridean objects in the Alströmer Collection are convincing proof of this latter fact. It is conceivable, of course, that some objects donated by Joseph Banks to the Alströmer Museum and stemming from islands visited by the Endeavour on the first voyage were actually collected during the subsequent voyages.

LIST OF THE OBJECTS IN ALSTRÖMER'S DONATION 1848
now in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden (Coll. 1848. 1.1.1.-67)
according to the new catalogue of the collection compiled 1962.

1. Bludgeon of Wood. *New Zealand*. (p. 84).
2. Bludgeon of Polished Talc. *New Zealand*. (p. 86).
3. Long Battle-Axe of Wood. *New Zealand*. (p. 86).
4. Kotaha, or Whip Sling, for Throwing Darts. *New Zealand*. (p. 87).

5. Cloak. *New Zealand*. (p. 82).
6. Fluffy Mat used as Cloak. *New Zealand*. (p. 83).
7. Cloak of a Sparse Fabric of *Phorimum tenax*, with Fringes. *New Zealand*. (p. 80).
8. Flax (*Phormium tenax*). *New Zealand*. (p. 90).
9. Basalt Pestle. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 76).
10. Adze of Stone with Wooden Handle. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 74).
11. Tusurus, Wooden Head Rest. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 73).
12. Braided Mat. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 78).
13. Large Piece of Tapa. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 75).
14. Large Plaited Bag with Shell Beads. *Tonga Islands*. (p. 97).
15. Long War-Club of Wood. *Tonga Islands*. (p. 96).
16. Long War-Club of Wood with Heavy Butt. *Tonga Islands*. (p. 97).
17. Double Club of Brown Wood. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 78).
18. Plaited Bag. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
19. Plaited Bag. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
20. Plaited Mat. *Polynesia*. (p. 93).
21. Plaited Rush Mat. *Polynesia. New Zealand?* (p. 92).
22. Plaited Rush Bag. *New Zealand*. (p. 88).
23. Plaited Rope. (Not in the collection 1962).
24. Plaited Rope Stump. *Polynesia? Probably Tahiti*. (p. 91).
25. Two Strips of Morus Bark. *Polynesia. Probably Tahiti*. (p. 77).
26. Wooden Arrow or Spear Head. Provenience uncertain. (p. 99).
27. Reed Arrow with Head of Wood. *Tahiti, Society Islands*. (p. 77).
28. Reed Arrow, Head of Wood, with Barbs. *New Hebrides?* (p. 100).
29. Reed Arrow. *New Hebrides?* (p. 100).
30. Reed Arrow. *Sta. Cruz, Solomon Islands*. (p. 101).
31. Reed Arrow. *New Guinea*. (p. 100).
32. Gablet Turned of Rhinoceros Horn. *China or India*. (Not published).
33. Gablet Turned of Rhinoceros Horn. *China or India*. (Not published).
34. Wide-brimmed Hat, *China*. (Not published).
35. Wide-brimmed Hat, *China*. (Not published).
36. Plaited Belt. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
37. Plaited Belt. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
38. Plaited Belt. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
39. Plaited Belt. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
40. Plaited Belt. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
41. Silk Cloak. *Turkey*. (Not published).
42. Letter of Palm Leaf. *Malabar, India*. (Not published).
43. Plaited Mat. *Polynesia. New Zealand?* (p. 93).
44. Bowl of Halved Calabash. *Polynesia*. (p. 94).
45. Bag. *New Zealand*. (p. 89).
46. Stone. *Polynesia?* (p. 99).
47. Skein of Black Fibre. *New Zealand?* (p. 94).
48. Carved Wooden Bowl. *Manilla*. (Not published).
49. Turned Goblet of Wood. *Manilla*. (Not published).
50. Plaited Rush Mat. *Polynesia. New Zealand?* (p. 93).
51. Wooden Arrow-Shaft. *Tierra del Fuego, Magellan Strait*. (p. 95).
52. Wooden Arrow-Shaft. *Tierra del Fuego, Magellan Strait*. (p. 95).

53. Wooden Arrow-Shaft. *Tierra del Fuego, Magellan Strait*. (p. 95).
54. Wooden Arrow-Shaft. *Tierra del Fuego, Magellan Strait*. (p. 95).
55. Kidney-shaped object, plaited fibre covering in checker-work and filled with probably fibres. Provenance and use uncertain. (Not published).
56. Arrow Foreshaft or Javelin Head. Provenance uncertain. *Polynesia?* (p. 99).
57. Angling-Rod. *England*. (p. 101).
58. Arrow. Provenance uncertain. *Polynesia?* (p. 98).
59. "Peludo", Braided Mat. *Spain*. (p. 102).
60. Wooden Shaft. *Polynesia*. (p. 94).
61. Plaited Belt. *Tahiti*. (p. 77).
62. Reed Arrow with Head of Wood. Provenance uncertain. *Polynesia?* (p. 98).
63. Cloak. *New Zealand*. (p. 81).
64. Cloak. *New Zealand*. (p. 84).
65. Short Triple-Edged Bow. *Tierra del Fuego, Magellan Strait*. (p. 94).
66. Incense sticks. *China*. (Not in the collection 1962).
67. Arabian letter. 1750–60. *Malabar, India*. (Not in the collection 1962).

A DESCRIPTION OF SIR JOSEPH BANKS COLLECTION

The short initial descriptions introducing the objects below give, when *in italics*, all the information given in the original catalogue. When such informations is missing, the descriptions are the author's own (not italicized)

TAHITI, SOCIETY ISLANDS

Fig. 22

1848.I.11

Tusurus. Wooden Head Rest. Feet joined pair-wise by cross-bar. Tahiti. Society Islands.

Maximum height 12 cm. Rest surface 12 × 37 cm.

One corner of the slightly bent rectangular rest surface missing. Rest surface also shows a crack at one of the shorter ends, which has been mended by drilling holes on both sides of the crack and then joining the holes with a fine fibre string. Similar mending of crack in cross-bar joining the foot ends on the same side.

"... The mats which serve them to sit upon in the daytime are also their beds at night; the cloth which they wear in the day serves for covering; and a little wooden stool, a block of wood, or bundle of cloth, for a pillow ..." (Banks in *Hooker* 1896 p. 134).

Cook gives a similar, description (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 129) and mentions the use of a head rest as follows:

"... a little wooden stool, block of wood or bundle of cloth for a pillow ..."

Parkinson (1773 Pl. XIII: 16 p. 76) depicts a *tusurus* and describes it as follows:

"An Ebupa, or Stool, used as a pillow; they generally put a piece of their cloth on it before they lay their head on it. There are many sizes of them; the very large ones they use also as stools to sit on . . ."

Two similar rests are included in Sparrman's Tahitian collection (*Söderström* 1939 Pl. VII pp. 31—32), where Sparrman's account of their use is quoted.

Figs. 23 and 28 (centre)

1848.I.10

Adze of Stone with Wooden Handle. Tahiti, Society Islands.

Length of blade 25 cm, width 6 cm. Handle 60 cm.

Blade of a dark fine-grained basalt rock. Triangular crosssection. Level upper side best polished or most worn. Neck tapering to tang grooved on all three sides to facilitate attachment of blade. The grooved portion shows marks that plainly indicate fashioning by blows. Circular cross-section of handle, which is somewhat heavier in haft. Head end shows groove-like indentation in which tang was carefully inserted. Blade held fast by ligament of 3-strand plaited fibre string. Between tang and handle a small piece of *tapa* (?). Opposite of handle head end finished with a downward-pointing boss. On its level outer side marks of repeated blows.

Tahitian adzes of identical workmanship are included in Sparrman's collection (*Söderström* 1939 Pl. IV: 1, V), in the Vienna collection from Cook's third voyage (*Moschner* 1955 Fig. 24) and in the Wäber collection in Berne (*Henking* 1956 Fig. 25 p. 355). Yet another is depicted by *Hawkesworth* (1773 Vol. II Pl. X). *Edge-Partington & Heape* (1890—98 First Series Pl. 34: 6) show a parallel specimen as does *Parkinson* (1773 Pl. XIII: 7).

Banks's own description (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. I p. 363, *Hooker* 1896 p. 116) shows that the adze is of the larger type used for heavier work:

"An axe of Stone in the shape of an adze, a chisel or gouge made of a human bone, a file or rasp of Coral . . . Their stone axes are made of a black stone not very hard but tolerably tough; they are of different sizes, some that are intended for felling weigh 3 or 4 Pounds, others which are used only for carving not as many ounces . . ."

". . . They hollow out with their stone axes as fast, at least, as our carpenters could do, and dubb, though slowly, with prodigious nicety. I have seen them take off the skin of an angular plant without missing a stroke, the skin itself scarce one-sixteenth part of an inch in thickness . . ."

"... When one considers the tools these people have to work with one cannot help but admire their workmanship, these are Adzes and small hatchets made of hard stone, Chisels or gouges made of human bones..." (Cook in *Beaglehole* 1955 p. 131).

The marks of blows on the level outer side of the downward-pointing boss-like protuberance on the neck portion of the handle may have resulted from the work, mentioned by Banks, of driving in wedges so as to make boards out of tree trunks.

In Benjamin West's picture of Sir Joseph Banks published by *Maiden* (1909 Fig. 2), here Fig. 1, there is to be seen, bottom right, an axe of this type.

Figs. 24—25

1848.1.13

Large Piece of Tapa. Tahiti, Society Islands.

Length about 15 m, width about 2.6 m.

Edges uneven in part evidently due to the joining together of several smaller pieces so as to obtain a larger. Broad decorative stripe in brown covering almost the entire width of the piece. This decoration accomplished by "printing" with two different matrices, or by the cloth being spread over a surface with raised "designs", then rubbed with red dye (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. 1 p. 358). One of these matrices, characterized by a bend in the corner of one short side, was about 87×36 cm. The imprints from the other measure about 100×33 cm. Same matrix evidently used for each side, commencing at one of the shorter ends. Edges outside decorative stripes on both sides show zig-zag line painted in same colour as stripes. Slightly torn.

Banks (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. 1 p. 253) gives the following description of the first meeting with the natives of Tahiti and how he was given as a gift of welcome a strip of *tapa* that, to judge from its measurements, could very well be this one.

"Matts were spread and we were desired to set down fronting an old man who we had not before seen, he immediately ordered a cock and hen to be brought which were presented to Cap^{tn} Cook and me, we accepted of the present. Then a peice of Cloth was presented to each of us perfumd after their manner not disagreeably which they took great pains to make us understand. My peice of Cloth was 11 yards long and 2 wide: for this I made return by presenting him with a large leed silk neckcloth I had on and a linnen pocket handkercheif..."

Hambruch (1926 Coll. Pl. I p. 76) shows a Tahitian sleeping-mat of *Broussonetia* bark-cloth. In this specimen the parallel lines in the matrix imprints look like those on the specimen shown here, the only difference

being that on the latter a marked interval between some of the parallel lines in both matrix imprints is noted. What *Hambruch* (1926 p. 13) says in connection with his claim that Cook was the first to bring bark-cloth to Europe is also of interest:

"... Ballenweise hat Cook Rindenstoffe nach Europa mitgebracht; die gewöhnlicheren Sorten gingen selten über vierzig bis fünfzig Meter, die mehrfarbigen, handgemalten Stücke gingen selten über drei bis vier Meter Länge hinaus . . ."

In this context *Hambruch* (1926 p. 13) also mentions a book kept in Hamburg's Museum für Völkerkunde, and written by an unknown author who apparently had taken part in some one of Cook's voyages: "*A catalogue of the different specimens of cloth collected in the three voyages of Captain Cook . . .*" It is said to contain original samples of bark-cloth, including some from Tahiti. In size, the present specimen tallies with those first referred to by *Hambruch* in the above quotation.

Fig. 27

1848.1.9

Basalt Pestle. This sort of pestle was used both for preparation of the "poi" meal from the kalo herb, and for stamping the bread-fruit to an acid dough, termed "mahé", that could be stored for a longer while. Tahiti, Society Islands. Height 19 cm. Width between ears of cross-bar 8.5 cm. Diameter of butt end surface 12 cm.

Bottom surface of conical butt end faintly convex. Cross section of handle cross-bar triangular. Ears or side trunnions of cross-bar tending to a flat rectangular shape. Right between them on upper side of cross-bar a ridge-like vertical list. A similar pestle is depicted by *Parkinson* (1773 Pl. XIII:16).

A similar pestle, the cross-bar of which is slightly different in shape and more finished is included in *Sparrman's* collection in Stockholm's Ethnographical Museum (*Söderström* 1939 Pl. VIII;2 p. 29). This author has also placed the pestle in question in the Silverthorn type scheme for this object. He mentions it also in another context (*Söderström* 1937 Fig. 1).

The same applies to the specimen shown in the *British Museum's Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* (1925 Fig. 139:4), the one shown by *Hawkesworth* (1873 Vol. II Pl. 9), and probably also to the one shown by *Edge-Partington & Heape* (1890—98 First Series Pl. 32;2). Thus the edge of the side trunnions on these latter, like the vertical ridge on the upper side of the cross-bar, shows a carved or incised line.

This might indicate that the Alströmer pestle never was quite finished. However, exact parallels to this latter occur also in Cook collections (*Moschner* 1955 p. 35).

By 1884, when Hjalmar Stolpe, head of the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm, visited Tahiti, this type of pestle was no longer manufactured.

Fig. 26

1848.1.61

Plaited Belt. Tahiti.

Not in original catalogue but provided with usual label: *Coll. Alströmer: vet: (1848)*.

Length 180 cm. Maximum breadth 30 cm.

Ribbon plaited in diagonally oriented checker work. One end somewhat narrowing. The material forms a fringe all along one of the longer edges and on that opposite nearest the narrower end.

Fig. 53:L

1848.1.27

Reed Arrow with Head of Wood. Tahiti.

Length 79 cm.

Shaft of nodal reed, partly cracked. Head of wood, short, spoolshaped, fastened to the shaft by means of a careful winding. Notch in string end.

Bow and arrows were used on Tahiti for ritual purposes only. Banks comments (*Hooker* 1896 pp. 142—143, *Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. 1 pp. 289—290, cf. also Cook's description in *Beaglehole* 1955 pp. 126—127):

"... Diversions they have but few; shooting with the bow is the most usual I have seen at Otahite. It is confined almost entirely to the chiefs; they shoot for distance only. With arrows unfledged, kneeling upon one knee, and dropping the bow from their hands the instant the arrow parts from it..."

Söderström (1939 Pl. III:1, pp. 25—28, 36—40) depicts similar arrows with quivers from Tahiti in the Sparrman collection. His description, based on earlier sources, of the use and manufacture of bows and arrows, mentions that "the arrows, *eahe*, were of bamboo and provided with smooth and blunt points made of *Casuarina* wood".

Fig. 44 (centre)

1848.1.25 a—b

Two Smaller Strips of *Morus* Bark, Dyed Red. Polynesia. Probably Tahiti. About 15 × 60 cm.

Very tattered, but original rectangular shape in some measure retained. One side dyed red, the other side, originally white, tinted brownish by the red side.

"... The material of which it (the cloth) is made is the internal bark or fibre of three sorts of trees, the Chinese paper mulberry (*Morus papyrifera*), the bread-fruit tree (*Sitodum utile*, *Artocarpus incisa* Linn. f), and a tree much resembling the wild fig-tree of the West Indies (*Ficus prolixa*). Of the first, which they name *aouta*, they make the finest and whitest cloth, which is worn chiefly by the principal people; it is likewise the most suitable for dyeing, especially with red ..." (Bank's description in *Hooker* 1896 pp. 145–146).

"... To begin with the red ... the brightness and elegance of which is so great that it cannot avoid being taken notice of by the most superficial observer. This colour is made by the admixture of the juices of two vegetables ..." (Bank's description in *Hooker* 1896 pp. 149–150).

Fig. 45 (bottom right)

1848.I.12

Braided Mat (of grass or palm leaves). Tahiti, Society Islands.

180×210 cm.

Diagonal braiding in checker pattern. Certain portions damaged by quite sizeable holes. Edges around them crumbling. Also damaged by folding and heavy pressure like nearly all network in Banks's donation.

"... Besides their cloth, the women make several kinds of matting, which serves them to sleep upon, the finest being also used for clothes. With this last they take great pains ... The rest of their moecas, which are used to sit down or sleep upon, are made of a variety of rushes, grasses, etc.; these they are extremely nimble in making ..." (Banks in *Hooker* 1896 p. 153).

"... The mats which serves them to set upon in the day is also their bed in the night ..." (Banks in *Hooker* 1896 p. 134; Cook in *Beaglehole* 1955 p. 129).

"... The matts which serves them to set upon in the day time is also their bed in the night and the clothes they wear in the day serves for covering ..." (Cook in *Beaglehole* 1955 p. 129).

"... Of matting they have several sorts; some very fine, which is used in exactly the same manner as cloth for their dresses, chiefly in rainy weather, as the cloth will not bear the least wet ..." (Banks in *Hooker* 1896 p. 132).

"... Their cloathing are either of Cloth or matting of several differen[t] sorts the dress of both men and women are much the same which is a peice of Cloth or Matting wraped two or three times round their waist ..." (Cook in *Beaglehole* 1955 p. 125).

Fig. 53:M

1848.I.17

Double-edged Club of Brown Wood. Long, narrow, pointed, flat. Pacific Islands. Tahiti, Society Islands.

Length 235 cm.

Lens-shaped cross-section of broad point which ends in a straight edge above, shaft or handle circular.

Against the information in the original catalogue spoke from the start the actual shape of the object. The part that would have served as a paddle blade is far too narrow and too heavy. If from New Zealand, the object (although it lacks a foot rest) would at first sight suggest a dibble such as described by e.g. *Hooker* (1896 p. 244). However, in that the shape of the object was widely divergent from this in certain details, while no traces of a fastening for a foot rest could be found, the most likely assumption was that it represented a club, even though no parallel could be found in collections or in the literature. In this situation Dr. Ernest Stanley Dodge, of the Peabody Museum, Salem, drew my attention to the fact that in Webber's original drawings of the Cook expedition (British Museum) Tahitian natives are seen armed with pole-like clubs resembling the specimen in question.

Dr. H. D. Skinner, having seen a drawing of the object, shares Dr. Dodge's view that we have here a Tahitian club. In a letter dated Dunedin January 6th, 1962, he writes:

"... I am quite confident that Dodge's diagnosis is correct, as it corresponds exactly with Cook's description of the Tahitian war club. In a paper which I have now virtually ready for publishing ... I remark that Cook does not mention the Tahitian spear which is strongly represented in museum collections, but I have never seen or heard of an example of the Tahitian club which he describes. The interesting thing is that the Tahitian club is allied to the Maori *taiaha* and the Tongarewan *kotari*. It will be interesting to hear how closely Webber's drawings correspond with this piece ..."

By the courtesy of Mr. Adrian Digby, of the British Museum, I obtained a photograph of Webber's drawing (Fig. 54: 1 cf. also Fig. 52), showing among other things a club from Tahiti. In spite of minor deviations the club discussed here is identical with this.

Banks' own description (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. I, p. 333) of the spears used on Tahiti is too vague to provide any direct evidence that the weapon treated here comes from there:

"Their arms consisted of long lances made of the *etoa* or hard wood well polished and sharpnd at one end; of these there were some near 20 feet long and scarce so thick as three fingers ..."

Cook's description on the other hand (*Beaglehole* 1955 pp. 132) is a strong argument that the object here discussed is such a club, in that case evidently the only one preserved:

"... the Clubs are made of a hard wood (Editor's note: *aito* or *toa*, iron wood; similarly the lances. The wood of the coconut was also used ...) and are about 8 or 9 feet long, the one half is made flattish with two edges and the other half is round and not thicker than to be easily grasped by the hand ..."

NEW ZEALAND

Figs. 29, 31, 35 (bottom)

1848.1.7

Cloak of a Sparse Fabric of Phormium tenax, with Fringes. Maori. New Zealand.

80 × 110 cm.

The Banks specimens in the Alströmer Collection include three garments fashioned from New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*). These three specimens represent three different methods of production. The garment here concerned indicates the simplest technique, while that depicted in Fig. 30 is more closely woven. This latter specimen also has a decorative border along one edge. The third type and that most valued by the Maori, was made as the preceding but with the outer side dressed with sewn-on strips of dogskin (Fig. 32).

The two first-mentioned described by Banks (*Hooker* 1896 pp. 242—243) as follows:

"... Their cloths are made exactly in the same manner as by the inhabitants of South America, some of whose workmanship, procured at Rio de Janeiro, I have on board. The warp or long threads are laid very close together, and each crossing of the woof is distant at least one inch from another. They have besides this several other kinds of cloth, and work borders to them all, but as to their manner of doing so I must confess myself totally ignorant. I never but once saw this work going forward; it was done in a kind of frame of the breadth of the cloth, across which it was spread, and the cross threads worked in by hand, which must be very tedious; however, the workmanship sufficiently proves the workmen to be dexterous in their way . . ."

Banks's reference to South America would seem to apply to some garment or other object made of *caraquata* (*Bromelia sp.*). Such garments are used by certain primitive tribes in eastern Brazil but are most common in the Chaco.

Monkhouse (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 566) describes a New Zealand garment of this sort of simple manufacture as follows:

"... He had on him a dress of singular manufacture — the warp consisting of small parcels of the fibres of some plant not twined or formed into thread, but the cross threads were properly twined, and run in parcels of two or three together with an interval of about four lines between each parcel; a strong selvage thread run along on each side but the ends appeared as if cut out of a web of the manufacture — this cloth might be about four feet by three . . ."

Sparrman's collection from Cook's second voyage includes a garment corresponding to the one in the Alströmer Collection but of somewhat better workmanship and in better condition (*Söderström* 1939 Pl. XXI,

pp. 50—54). The information supplied by Söderström as to technique etc. is in several respects applicable to the Alströmer specimen.

Figs. 30, 35 (top)

1848.1.63.

Cloak. Maori, New Zealand.

125 × 135 cm.

The outside is decorated with little sewn-on dogskin strips — now only fragments — twined string-ends or short plaited ribbon-like application of the same material as the mat itself (*Phormium tenax*), probably fasteners for decorative feathers.

The twined cross threads is placed looser than in the preceding specimen (1848.1.7). Along one of the longer edges — the cloak's bottom hem when it was worn — a border in black resulting in something of a checker pattern on the side meant to be seen, i.e. the side with the applications and string-ends and the dogskin strips. This *taniko* work was the highlight of Maori weaving. The opposite edge is folded and sewn fast. The bordered edge is curved slightly outwards, this effect being achieved by means of two elliptical sections of parallel extra cross threads inserted one somewhat below the centre in the otherwise all-parallel woof, the other nearer the opposite borderless edge. Similar irregularities in the placing of the woof appear to be common. An example is to be found, for instance, in the more simple cloak from Sparrman's collection that is depicted by Söderström (1939 Pl. XX).

Cook (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 279) describes a cloak of this kind as follows, having first mentioned one of another style of workmanship:

"... Besides these thrum'd matts as I call them, they have other much finer clothing made of the same plant after it is bleached and prepar'd in such a manner that it is as white and all most as soft as flax but much stronger; of this they make pieces of cloth about 5 feet long and 4 broad, these are wove some peices close and others very open, the former are as stout as the strongest sail cloth and not unlike it, and yet it is all work'd or made by hand with no other Instrument than a needle or Bodkin. To one end of every peice is generally work'd a very neat border of different colours of four or Six inches broad and they very often trim them with pieces of dog skin or birds feathers..."

Monkhouse (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 572) mentions such garments in *taniko* work as follows:

"... some of them had a very handsome border at the bottom about two inches & half broad, and worked in diamonds some half black, half white, others half black half brown or cinnamon colour; the disposition of these colours was made with very just taste... Some very fine and Silky and of a bright flaxen Colour, which seems to be the proper colour of the fibres of the plant when in a state fit to manufacture..."



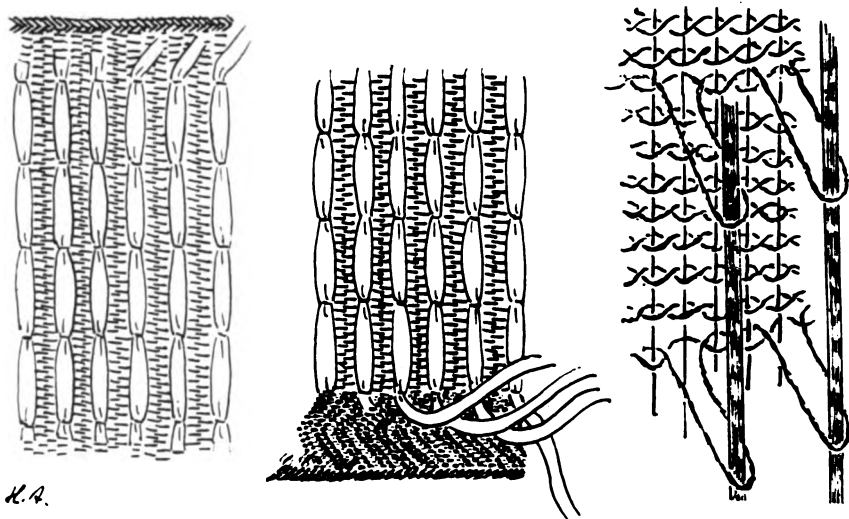


Fig. 4. Schematic sketch showing the edges and how the dogskin strips are attached to the cloak of *Phormium tenax* in Fig. 32. New Zealand.

Banks himself (Hooker 1896 pp. 233—234) supplies the following description:

“... Besides this they have several kinds of cloth which are smooth, and ingeniously worked; these are chiefly of two sorts, one coarser as our coarsest canvas, and ten times stronger, but much like it in the lying of the threads; the other is formed by many threads running lengthwise, and a few only crossing them to tie them together ... To both these they work borders of different colours in fine stitches, something like carpeting or girl's samplers in various patterns, with an ingenuity truly surprising to any one who will reflect that they are without needles ...”

In Benjamin West's picture published by Maiden (1909 No. 2) Sir Joseph Banks, standing among sundry objects brought home from the South Seas, is clad in a similar sort of cloak (cf. Fig. 1).

Figs. 4, 32, 35 (centre)

1848.I.5.

Cloak Consisting of Mat Decorated on One Side with Dogskin Strips. Maori, New Zealand.

115 × 160 cm.

Workmanship as in the preceding but patterned border considerably narrower and almost hidden by the closely sewn-on dogskin strips

originally covering the entire outer side. Ends have virtually formed a fringe at bottom. Above traces of an eyelet and a cord for fastening when garment is worn.

Of the three garments made of New Zealand flax, this is perhaps the most valuable. The fur of the dogskin strips, and portions of the strips themselves, have, however, unfortunately been lost. Dr. H. D. Skinner, of Dunedin, New Zealand, the well-known connoisseur of Maori culture, wrote in a letter, after seeing this specimen in 1936: "I never saw a better one . . ."

Banks (*Hooker* 1896 p. 234) describes a garment like this in the following terms:

"... but the great pride of their dress seems to consist in dog's fur, which they use so sparingly that to avoid waste they cut it into long stripes, and sew them at a distance from each other upon their cloth, often varying the colours prettily enough. When first we saw these dresses we took them for the skins of bears or some animal of that kind, but we were soon undeceived, and found upon inquiry that they were acquainted with no animal that had fur or long hair but their own dogs . . ."

Monkhouse (*Beaglehole* 1955 pp. 568, 583) gives the following brief description of this garment.

"... One man was clad in a skin dress consisting of black and white broad perpendicular stripes . . .

"... One, dressed in an Ahu of the first sort ornamented with narrow stripes of white dogs skin, sewed on in transverse rows, and chequered border . . ."

Cf. *Parkinson* (1773 Pl. XV).

Figs. 33—34 (right)

1848.1.6

Fluffy Mat used as Cloak. Maori, New Zealand. Original label: "Coll. Alströmer: vet: 1848": On fragment of another label a few letters legible: "... Zelan ..."

130×110 cm.

The cloaks or capes depicted by *Dodge* (1941 Pl. II p. 9) prove this specimen to be a rain cape (*kahu toi*). Thus the top has a heavy plaited border. "The tags are attached so closely that they form a thatch" but on the present specimen they are sparser. The material in the capes shown by Dodge is said to be *toi* (*Cordyline indivisa*) obtained after soaking the leaves in water, which seems to agree with the present specimen although it is not dyed black. On the present specimen we see

instead traces of red dye on the nonfluffy side. Average distance between woof lines 3 cm. As shown in Fig. 33, the woof is not parallel throughout but in the centre there is a section where the warp forms a slightly extended crescent-shaped area. Damage in the form of holes, the largest close by the plaited top border.

Figs. 33—34 (left)

1848.1.64

Cloak or Rain Cape. Maori, New Zealand. Original label: “*Coll. Alströmer: vet: 1848*”.

Height 80. Width 85.

Square. Plaited of two-strand S-twined short string in twilled-technique. A plaited selvage along the top border from which the ends of the short strings first used hangs down like a fringe. When, after plaiting the upper part, new plaiting material has been needed — new strings of the same length — these have been worked in so that the ends of the strings used up and the new ones form a fringe along a straight line. Two such fringes traverse the cloak, one near the upper edge with the selvage and first fringe and another somewhat below the middle. The free ends of the string form also a fringe below. On the reverse side an irregularity in the plaiting marks the same boundary between old and new plaiting material. Here, by the edge with the selvage and near the two outer edges, there is a vertical string partly plaited in, possibly to facilitate tying of the cloak or cape.

Cf. *Dodge* (1941 p. 9 Pl. II).

Figs. 36, 37, 38 left, 39

1848.1.1

Bludgeon of Wood with Carved Anthropomorphous Figure on Back and on Handle. Short hand weapon formerly very common in New Zealand.

Length 36 cm.

The anthropomorphous figure ornamenting the handle's spherical point is dominated by the face (Fig. 39), which occupies roughly half of the surface and is executed in heavier relief than the bent arms and legs occupying the rest. Eyes marked by circular indentations so deep and prominent that they can be suspected of having been meant as points of fastening for inlays.

The handle, virtually circular in cross-section, shows a drill-hole close by the spherical point. The flat blade is sharpened along the concave edge.

Point on the opposite convex edge closest by the handle ornamented with carved anthropomorphous figure with bent arms and legs (Figs. 36, 37, 38 left). This representation, if compared with the one on the handle, appears more worn.

Weapons like these and their parallels in stone (Fig. 38 right, p. 86) are described by Banks (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. II p. 27, *Hooker* 1896 p. 245) as follows:

"*Patoo patoos* as they call'd them, a kind of small hand bludgeon of stone, bone or hard wood most admirably calculated for the cracking of skulls; they are of different shapes, some like an old fashioned chopping knife, others of this (Fig.) always however having sharp edges and a sufficient weight to make a second blow unnecessary if the first takes place; in these they seem'd to put their chief dependence, fastning them by a strong strap to their wrists least they should be wrenched from them. The principal people seldom stirr'd out without one of them sticking in his girdle . . ." (Cf. objects Fig. 42 p. 89).

Monkhouse describes the *patoo-patoo* in a similar but briefer way while relating how the Maori after a battle try to recover the weapon from a fallen comrade — a testimony to the value set on it (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 567):

"... a short hand weapon which was fastned by a string round the wrist, was about 18 inches long, had a rounded handle and thence formed into a flat elliptic shape; this weapon, we afterwards learnt, was called *Pattoo* . . .

"... I presented my bayonet thinking they meant to carry the hanger, but they soon convinced me that it was a green stone *pâttoo* they only wanted, which one of them tore from his wrist and retreated . . ."

The *patoo-patoo* is a weapon common in New Zealand collections. Made of wood, stone or whalebone, and of varying types, they recur also in other Cook collections (*Moschner* 1955 pp. 3—5; *Söderström* 1939 Pl. XVIII:2 cf. p. 48—49). *Söderström* also cites data concerning this type of weapon supplied by various authors — data applicable also to objects in the Alströmer Collection. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a brief comment on the shape of the specimen in the Banks donation.

By virtue of the edge's compactness — it lacks the hole forming a rudiment of an earlier indent in the edge — this specimen typologically represents a further development of that type — *waha-ika* — which, according to *Skinner* (1916 Fig. 15), marks the end of its typological evolutionary scheme. The fact that it occurs in a collection as early as the one here dealt with proves that this ultimate type was a thing of the past already by the time of Cook's visit.

Fig. 38 (right)

1948. I.2

Bludgeon of Polished Talc. Short, flat, double-edged. Maori, New Zealand.
Length 31 cm.

"*Patoo onewa*" (Best 1934 Fig. 61), "*Mere pounamu*" (Dodge 1941 p. 46 Pl. XIX). Semi-spherical head on handle point ornamented with three concentric groove-shaped ovals. On handle is fastened a brown strap plaited of fibres in diagonal technique and finishing with a larger eyelet meant to be slung over the wrist (cf. p. 85), together with a twined string of the same material tied twice round the handle and also having a fragment of a plaited strap. If this carrying arrangement is moved down the handle one notes a shallow knocked-out indentation — the beginning of the hole through the handle that otherwise serves as a rule as the fastening point for the hand eyelet.

This type of weapon, common in New Zealand collections, is described by Banks (Hooker 1896 pp. 185—186) as follows:

"... Arms they had none, except two men, one of whom sold his *patoo patoo*, as it is called, a short weapon of green talc of this shape (Fig.) intended, doubtless, for fighting hand-to-hand, and certainly well contrived for splitting skulls, as it weighs not less than four or five pounds, and has sharp edges excellently polished ..."

Of a completed specimen like this in the Banks collection Skinner (1916 Fig. 11 p. 187) says: "... an *onewa* (*patu* in black basalt) which exhibits the highest development reached by the Maori in the manufacture of stone *patu*". Weapons of this kind finished and consequently with holes through the handles for the carrying straps are included both in Sparrman's collection from Cook's second voyage (Söderström 1939 Pl. XVIII:2 pp. 48—49) and in the Vienna Cook collection (Moschner 1955 Fig. 2). Cf. also the descriptions on p. 85.

Fig. 28 (second from left)

1848.1.3

Long Battle-Axe of Wood. Maori, New Zealand.

Length 122 cm.

Blade's maximum thickness 1 cm.

"*Tehwa-tehwa*" (Best 1934 Fig. 60; Dodge 1941 Pls. XVI—XVII). Handle circular in cross-section nearest point, more flattened nearer side blade which is sharpened at curving lower edge. Shape coincides in part with the grain of the timber.

Banks describes this weapon as follows (*Hooker* 1896 pp. 244—245):

"... Their battle-axes, likewise made of very hard wood, are about six feet long, the bottom of the handle pointed, and the blade, which is exactly like that of an axe but broader, made very sharp, with these they chop at the heads of their antagonists when an opportunity offers ..."

A male with an axe of this type is depicted by *Parkinson* (1773 P. XV), several others by *Hamilton* (1896—1901 Part II Pl. XXVIII Fig. 2, Pl. XXX Fig. 1).

In a letter to the author, dated Dunedin 10.12.1962, Dr. *Skinner* writes of this object:

"The plain *tewhatewha* has an unusually wide expansion of the blade. The same wide expansion is present of some of the Cook engravings. Perhaps the engraver had this particular *tewhatewha* as his model. . ."

Figs. 28 (left), 40

1848.1.4

"Kotaha" or Whip Sling, for Throwing Darts. *Maori, New Zealand*. Original catalogue: "*Wooden stick with carved handle*".

Length 143 cm.

Edge-Partington & Heape (1890—98 First Series Pls. 380;2, 385;5) depict under the designation "Staff" two similar specimens. In a later work, however, *Edge-Partington* (1899 pp. 304—305 Pl. XXXIV) presents another explanation of this object. Visiting the Auckland museum in 1897, he had a chance of showing these illustrations to a couple of old Maori chiefs, who declared that the objects depicted were "Kotahas, or Whip Slings, to throw darts into besieged camps".

The manner of using a *kotaha* is apparent also from an illustration in *Hamilton* (1896—1901 Pl. XXX Fig. 2).

Comparing the specimen we have here with *Edge-Partington's* later description, one notes that the only difference is that the Banks specimen has lost the tip of the winding consisting of a freely hanging cord the end of which is tied into a knot. Of the use of the object, with its darts, *Edge-Partington*, on the basis of data supplied by *Hamilton* (*Maori Art*), gives the following description:

"Mr. Hamilton describes the dart as a rough stick, fairly straight, from four to five feet long, with one end sharply pointed, and the point charred in order to harden it; it was moreover cut nearly through about two inches from the point, so that it might easily break and leave the piece in the body of the wounded enemy. The darts, he says, were stuck loosely in the ground pointing in the direction to which they were intended to be thrown, the cord was then looped round the dart."

Edge-Partington points out at the same time that "... the early writers speak of throwing darts into besieged camps as well as throwing bunches of lighted leaves, but do not describe the means by which this was done. It is evident that the *kotaha* was the implement used ...". And: "Among the very earliest acquisitions in the British Museum are four specimens of the *kotaha* ..."; "Of the *kotaha* there is not, as far as I was able to learn, a single specimen in New Zealand ..."

In a letter to the author, dated Dunedin 10.12.1962, Dr. *Skinner* writes:

"The object is one of those rare spear-throwers, of which there are three in the British Museum but none in New Zealand. One was advertised for sale a week or two back by Sotherbys; it will be interesting to learn the price. ..."

The stick of the *kotaha* we have here is circular in cross-section with a slightly increasing diameter nearer the head of the carved anthropomorphous figure. The pointed end finishing with a faintly marked human head is wound with a fibre string in which, upon further examination, is found a tiny trace of the previously freely hanging cord. The carved anthropomorphous figure turns its head upwards while arms and legs are bent backwards — a posture which seems to be standard throughout for objects of this kind.

An early Maori object, possibly the perch for a tame parrot, *kaka*, with a figure virtually identical with that on the present object is shown in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Vol. 38, No. 152, Figs. 2—3, December 1929, New Plymouth, N. Z.).

Fig. 44 (bottom)

1848.1.22

Plaited Rush Bag. Polynesia. New Zealand.

Height about 65 cm, width about 50 cm.

Square-patterned diagonal twilled-technique. In holes along the edge around the opening a double plaited fibre string, probably of cocoanut fibre, by which bag can be closed. Slightly damaged.

Judging from the similarity with a bag shown by *Hamilton* (1896—1901 Part V Pl. LXIV Fig. 4) from New Zealand, this specimen should have the same provenance.

Dr. H. D. Skinner who has seen the object points to its similarity with another object shown by *Hamilton* (1896—1901 Part IV Pl. XLII Fig. 3) and adds: "I think your *kete* must have been designed to hold some particular article such as a specific robe ..."

Figs. 43

1848.1.18—19

Plaited Bags. Polynesia. New Zealand.

Alströmer: vet: 1848.

18 Height 30 cm. Length 42 cm. 19 Height 30 cm. Length 42 cm.

Rectangular form No. 18 triangle-patterned (Fig. 43 top). No. 19 Square-patterned twillwork (Fig. 43 bottom). Handle of fibre.

In shape and decoration, in consequence of the plaiting employed, they chiefly recall some of the New Zealand specimens shown by *Best* (1934 fig. 94) and *Edge-Partington & Heape* (1890—98 Serie II:233 no. 13).

Figs. 46, 48

1948.1.45

Bag. New Zealand

Not in original catalogue but provided with the usual label: *Coll.* Height 22 cm. Maximum length 42 cm.

Flat rectangular shape. Made of black and white fibres. Patterned on both sides but on one side (Fig. 48) an unpatterned lighter section slanting across side.

Probably New Zealand, judging from the similarity to some bags shown by *Hamilton* (1896—1901 Part IV Pl. XLIV Figs. 2—3).

The workmanship and patterning are also reminiscent of a couple of New Zealand specimens depicted by *Best* (1934 Fig. 94).

Fig. 42

1848.1.36—40

Plaited Belts. Maori, New Zealand.

In original catalogue there has been added erroneously after "*Plaited Belts*" the annotation: "*Africa?*".

Sizes: 36, length 210 cm, width 7 cm; 37, length 120 cm, width 6.5 cm; 38, length 190 cm, width 8 cm (rolled together in illustration Fig. 40); 39, length 130 cm, width 7.5 cm; 40, length 160 cm, width 9 cm.

"*Tatua whara*" man's belt (*Te Rangi Hiroa/P. H. Buck/* 1924 Pl. 34), "*Tatua, Tatua pupara*" (*Dodge* 1941 Pl. IV p. 8).

Plaited of undressed flax in narrow strips. Two different types are distinguishable, one with more pointed ends, the other with straighter.

A certain patterning has been achieved by the sparing use of a darker plaiting material (Dodge 1941 p. 8). This, however, may be unintentional. A plaited dressed flax cord in both ends of the finished belt as tying string. *Edge-Partington & Heape* (1890—98 Second Series Pl. 231:4—6) and *Best* (1934 Fig. 92) depict both types. The description supplied by these tallies excellently with the apparently unfinished Banks specimen shown on the left in Fig. 42:

“War belt of plaited flax folded with rough edges turned inwards . . .”

Of one of the three belts depicted by *Edge-Partington & Heape* the description says:

“ . . . of woven flax, folded with one edge turned in. To these were suspended meres . . . ”

Bank says that the short bludgeons were carried stuck in the belt (cf. p. 85).

The most detailed description of belts of this type and their manufacture, is supplied by *Te Rangi Hiroa* (/P. H. Buck/ 1924 p. 346 ff).

In the Banks specimens one notes that the technique aiming at holding together the folded belt is not consistently applied. Thus the heavy selvage seam can run along the two edges, one alone or be altogether lacking. The end cords are also attached to the belt in a manner designed to facilitate folding.

How the bludgeon is carried stuck into such a belt is shown by an illustration in *Parkinson* (1773 Pl, XV).

Fig. 51 (left background)

1848.1.8

Flax (*Phormium tenax*). Maori, New Zealand.

Length about 60 cm.

Bundle of white fibres. What particularly interested the naturalist and botanist Joseph Banks on New Zealand was evidently the Maori use of fibres from the New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*) for the production of garments, cordage, etc., this probably with a view to the possible exploitation of this plant for manufacturing purposes in Europe. He writes (*Hooker* 1896 p. 229):

“ . . . But of all the plants we have seen among these people, that which is the most excellent in its kind, and which really excels most if not all that are put to the same uses in other countries is the plant which serves them instead of hemp or flax . . . of the levels of this plant all their common wearing apparel is made with little preparation, and all strings, lines, and cordage for every purpose . . . ”

Cook (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 277) says:

"... There grows spontaneously every where a kind of very good broad pladed grass like flags in nature of hemp of which might be made the very best of Cordage Canvas &c^a. There are two sorts the one finer than the other, of these the natives make cloth, rope, lines, netts &c^a..."

The background to the natural-scientific studies made in connection with voyages of exploration in the 18th century was not just a desire to learn of life in newly discovered countries but also a concern to find out what of their natural resources could be directly exploited. Indirect exploitation would then follow by the bringing home of various plants for cultivation and utilization. This utilitarian view of the purpose of natural-scientific research is characteristic of the French enlightenment. It was also the reason for the generous attitude of the French to Captain Cook, as reflected by the official order to the effect that the renowned explorer was not to be hindered by actions by French men-o'-war in the event of Anglo-French hostilities but should be assisted in every way since his labours benefitted all mankind (pp. 105—106).

Joseph Banks, interest in New Zealand flax was for the same sort of reason. The Alströmer family enterprises, similarly, were Sweden's premier centre of production for textiles and it stands to reason that Johan Alströmer was anxious to secure a sample of this exotic product. Hence the inclusion in the Banks donation of a skein of this fibre material, together with a stump of rope twined as above of another plant fibre (pp. 91—92).

Samples of New Zealand flax were collected also by Sparrman during Cook's second voyage (*Söderström* 1939 p. 48).

Banks' notes on the use of bark cloth, fibres of different kinds, and different colouring pigments on Tahiti also show that, at the time he made them, he believed that they could be used not only in England, but throughout Europe. He writes for instance:

"Of what use this preparation may be of to my Countreymen either in itself or in any hints which may be drawn from an admixture of vegetable substances so totally different from any thing of the kind that is practis'd in Europe, I am not enough vers'd in Chymistry to be able to guess, I must however hope that it will be of some..." (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. I p. 359).

POLYNESIA

Figs. 5, 45 (centre)

1848.1.24

Plated Rope Stump. Polynesia? Tahiti?

Length 260 cm, diameter 2.5 cm.

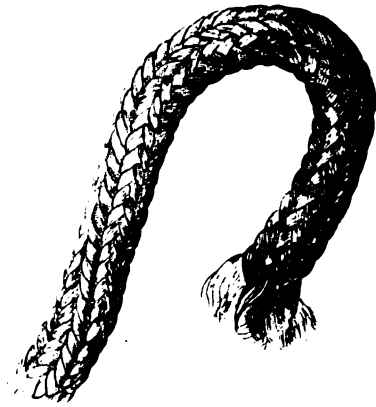


Fig. 5. Rope plaited of four groups of four plaited strands of S-twined cocoa-fibres. Polynesia.

Cocoa nut fibres. Cross-section circular, plaited of four groups of four plaited strands of S-twined cocoa-fibres (Fig. 5). Cf. description of object 1848.1.8 (p. 90. Cf also pp. 105—106).

"Besides these things they make . . . Ropes of about an inch, and lines, of the *Poorou* . . . and also belts, of the fibres of the Cocoa nut, platted either round or flat very neatly; all their twisting work they do upon their thighs in a manner very difficult to describe and indeed unnecessary, as no European can want to learn how to do . . ." (Banks in *Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. I p. 361).

Cook describes the manufacture of rope on Tahiti as follows (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 133):

"... The Islands produceth 2 or 3 sorts of Plants of which they make the rope they use in riging their Canoes &c" the finest sort such as fishing lines, twine Line &c" is made of the bark of a tree and some kind of silk grass . . ."

Best (1934 Fig. 96 farthest right) shows a sample of New Zealand cordage which seems to tally with the specimen described here. He mentions also the occurrence of a considerable variety of cordage, flat, round or square-plaited and plaited of up to ten strands (*Best* 1934 p. 208).

Fig. 45 (top right)

1848.1.21

Plaited Rush Mat. Polynesia. New Zealand?

90×200 cm.

Checker-work in diagonal plaiting. By use of somewhat differently coloured material a patterning — probably unintentional — has been obtained. Damaged by repeated foldings and pressure. Damage to the folding edges has resulted in holes at several places.

Fig. 45 (bottom left)

1848.1.43

Plaited Mat. Polynesia. New Zealand?

Not in original catalogue but provided with the usual label: *Coll. Alströmer: vet: (1848).*

110×350 cm.

Rectangular form. Checker-patterned diagonal plaiting. Heavily damaged, apparently by rodents.

Figs. 47, 49

1848.1.20.

Plaited Mat. Polynesia.

130×160 cm.

Rectangular form. Checker-patterned diagonal plaiting. Plaiting starts with leaves split along for nearly their whole length into narrow strips. The unsplit points of the leaves or leaf strips form lobes along the two longer edges of the mat (Figs. 47, 49). Found 1960, like all plaited mats in the collection, severely and irregularly folded and with folding edge heavily damaged, with holes in several places. This is the reason why none of the mats could be depicted rolled-out.

A similar mat in Wäber's collection in Berne from Cook's third voyage is shown by *Henking* (1957 Fig. 10 p. 12). The unsplit lobes in the edge are, however, here cut off.

Fig. 45 (top left)

1848.1.50

Plaited Rush Mat. Polynesia. New Zealand?

In 1960 no catalogue number but provided with the usual label for the objects in the Alströmer Collection: *Coll. Alströmer: vet: (1848).*
130×220 cm.

Rectangular shape. Checker-patterned diagonal plaiting. Damaged by holes in some spots where the plaiting has evidently crumbled.

The addition of new woof to increase size has been effected along a straight line, so that the strip ends from two distinct rows, one of the old and another of the new woof. A seam of this kind is noticeable in the illustration. The method recurs in a somewhat deviating form when joining two *whara* of a *Porera* mat shown and described by *Te Rangi Hiroa* (/P. H. Buck/ 1923 Fig. 2 p. 722).

Fig. 51 (right background)

1848.1.47

Skein of Black Fibre. New Zealand?

Not in original catalogue but provided with the usual label: *Coll. Alströmer: vet: (1848).*

Fig. 53:N

1848.1.60

Wooden shaft. *Heavy spear of cane or palm-tree stalk. Polynesia.*

Original catalogue: *New Holland.*

Length 215 cm. Maximum diameter 4 cm.

Tapering towards shaft end. Heavier head end shows a rounded termination from which extends the head proper with square cross-section and blunt point. This head, being part of the shaft, is placed asymmetrically by one of the edges.

Fig. 51

1848.1.44

Bowl of Halved Calabash. Polynesia.

In original catalogue erroneously: *Bowl of split cocoanut. Africa?*

Height 7 cm, maximum diameter 17 cm.

Original calabash of spherical shape halved lengthwise. Crack in edge at point of original stem mended by drilling hole on each side of crack and tying together the parts. Fine fibre string then probably employed now missing.

TIERRA DEL FUEGO, MAGELLAN STRAIT

Fig. 53:A

1848.1.65

Short Triple-Edged Bow (damaged). Magellan Strait.

Found minus number or marking when checking the Collection in 1960.

Length 95 cm. Maximum diameter 2 cm.

The brief and concise description tallies well. Near one end there is a crack mended by winding sinew fibres around the bow while the cross-section is triangular although the sides are faintly convex. String lacking.

Fig. 53:B—E

1848.I.51—54

Wooden Arrow-Shafts. Magellan Strait. In original catalogue erroneously labelled "*Polynesia*". Also subsequent erroneous annotation: "*Probably from Africa*".

The arrows have the spool shape etc. typical of Fuegan arrows.

Fig. 53:B 1848.I.51

Faintly marked slit in end of shaft for tang of head, the pointed end being split. At string end traces of sinew lashing and two quills. Faintly marked string notch with slightly increased cross-section. Length 66 cm.

Fig. 53:C 1848.I.52

Point damaged. At string end mark from earlier lashing for attaching quills as well as a faintly marked string notch. Length 59 cm.

Fig. 53;D 1848.I.53

As preceding specimens but notch only at string end. Length 60 cm.

Fig. 53:E 1848.I.54

Point shows prominent slit for head. Faintly marked string notch. Both quills preserved together with lashing. Quills retain some of the cut-out triangular shape typical of Fuegan arrows. Length 66 cm.

As pointed out by *Smith* (1960 p. 21), Banks was specially interested in making contact with the Indians in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, concerning whose stature opinions at that time differed. This was why he described them in such detail. *Gusinde* (1931 pp. 31—55) supplies a summary of what Banks and Cook noted concerning the Fuegians. What they have to say of their arrows appears below.

The neat workmanship of the arrow-shafts in the Alströmer Collection, is striking, compared with arrows in Fuegan collections of a later date. Cross-sections are throughout somewhat smaller, surfaces smoother, etc.

This neat workmanship was also noted by the collector, as is apparent from Banks's description (*Beaglehole* 1962 Vol. I p. 228, *Hooker* 1896 p. 60):

"... Their arms consisted of Bows and arrows, the former neatly enough made the latter neater than any I have seen, polished to the highest degree and headed either with glass or flint very neatly; but this was the only neat thing they had and the only thing they seemed to take any pains about ..."

The same applies to Cook's description (*Beaglehole* 1955 p. 45);

"... their arms are Bows and Arrows neatly made, their arrows are bearded some with glass and others with fine flint, several pieces of the former we saw amongst them with other European things ..."

We may assume that these arrows and the bow from Tierra del Fuego are among the earliest, if not actually the earliest, specimens collected directly from the Indians and extant today.

TONGA ISLANDS

Fig. 28 (farthest right)

1848.1.15

Long War-Club of Wood. Tonga Islands.

Length 87 cm, maximum thickness 4 cm.

The flat head shows in the centre of each side a marked ridge which, like the head's sharp edges, continues down the entire length of the handle. In this way the cross-section of the handle, too, has become square. Transition between flat head and handle marked by double flange on both sides which simultaneously forms two edge barbs. Above these on each side of head three groups of five partly damaged edge barbs.

Söderström (1939 Pl. VII:1 pp. 35—36) shows a Tongan club the shape of which agrees by and large with the present one. He gives also a review of what had been published so far on this type of club. Another similar club is to be found in the Cook collection published by *Giglioli* (1893 Pl. III:13). Yet another Tongan club of the same shape is depicted in the *British Museum* (1925 Fig. 145:6) handbook.

As regards this club Dr. *H. D. Skinner* makes the following statement (letter to the author, dated Dunedin 10.12.1962), which makes the reported provenance "Tonga Islands" doubtful:

"The club is Samoan, and interests me because the double ridge is a vestigial relic of the crocodile browridges present widely in Polynesian weapons. I have a paper on this

crocodile head ready for publication in a new series of papers from Otago Museum Press. The head becomes humanized as it passes out of the area inhabited by *C. porosus* . . .”

Figs. 28 (second from right), 41

1848.I.16

Long War-Club of Wood with Heavy Butt. Tonga Islands.

Length 80 cm, maximum thickness 7 cm.

Heavier butt end flattened and with a sharp semi-circular edge above. By having the butt end heavier than the rest of the club there has been obtained a transverse flange right across the butt where it is broadest. From the heavier butt end a shorter ridge runs some distance down the handle, its continuation marked by ornamentation on the heavier butt end. The butt end's sharp edges continue some distance down the handle. Carved ornamentation consisting of lines, dots or chisel scars on handle portion nearest butt. The ornamentation terminates farther down the handle with more heavily carved lines running round handle, as if simulating a fibre string winding (cf. *Cranstone* 1460 Fig. 22:c). Handle terminates in a flange. Nearest to this the surface is abraded so that where the club is held the surface has become rough. The sharp semi-circular edge terminating head end, like flange traversing head on side not shown in picture, slightly damaged.

In a letter, to the author, dated Dunedin 10.12.1962, Dr. *Skinner* says of this club:

“The club you mark is of a type which I localize as Tonga-Fiji, that is a type developed by the Tongans who colonized eastern Fiji or perhaps the Lau group. The proximal stop or button does not appear in authenticated Tongan weapons but is present in several types of Fijian weapon including many authenticated as Tonga-Fijian. The decorative patterns are pure Tongan. . .”

Cf. *Suggs* 1960, p. 89.

Fig. 50

1848.I.14

Large Plaited Bag with Shell Beads.

Height 38 cm, maximum breadth 60 cm.

Flat rectangular shape with rounded corners. Made in two layers, inner in coil-technique with a heavier strand as foundation and another more flexible and finer as connecting strand. Outer layer in twill-technique and made of darkblack and brownish cocoanut husk-fibres.

Each of these materials used by itself for production of triangles forming horizontal patterned bands. Each field apparently plaited independently as the plaiting proceeded, starting from the bottom. Boundaries between fields marked by inplaited white or dark violet shell beads. From the size of these beads has resulted an open line in the plaiting marking the borders for the different triangular fields. Occasional similar beads also in the centre of the different fields. Edge around opening trimmed with plaiting done with a cord plaited of fine fibres in the same colours as the material in the basket itself. Similar plaited cord used for the multiple carry-sling, with a knot in one end. This knot kept the basket closed when the cord was threaded through an eyelet on opposite side.

Plaiting damaged along bottom edge.

Similar baskets from Tonga are also included in Sparrman's collection from Cook's second voyage (*Söderström* 1939 Pl. XV:2, Fig. 2 a pp. 46—47) in the Vienna Cook collection (*Moschner* 1955 Fig. 59 cf. also Fig. 58), the Cook collection in Florence (*Giglioli* 1893 Pl. IV:27) and in the collection in Berne from Cook's last voyage (*Henking* 1957 Fig. 14 pp. 341—342).

Cook describes bags like this as follows:

"... Among other useful utensils they have various sorts of Baskets, some made of the same materials as their mats, others are made of the twisted fibers of Cocoanuts, these are not only durable but beautiful, being generally composed of different colours and studded with beads ..." (*Beaglehole* 1961 p. 272).

DOUBTFUL OR EXTRANEIOUS OBJECTS

Fig. 53:F

1848.1.62

Reed Arrow with Head of Wood. Polynesia?

Original label missing 1960, hence identity questionable.

Length 70 cm.

Shaft of nodal reed. Rear end broken, point end wound with tender fibre strip. Head consists of somewhat uneven laminated wood faintly concave on one side, convex on the other. Tip broken.

Fig. 53:G

1848.1.58

Arrow. Polynesia? Subsequent annotation in original catalogue: "*Probably Africa*".

Length 51 cm.

By 1960 only a damaged section of shaft preserved. Material nodal reed. Point end damaged and crushed. At string end notch and traces of fibre (?) lashing.

This specimen is much too damaged for definite after-establishment to be possible.

Fig. 53:P

1848.I.56

Arrow or Javelin Head. Polynesia?

Length 44 cm.

Wooden foreshaft to arrow. Point conical with deep notch for fastening tip. Below it winding of fine white thread. Opposite end pointed. Decoration in black.

The pattern was probably partly produced by scraping off the black paint, the winding may consist of cotton thread — details proving that this specimen does not derive from the South Seas and never formed part of Banks' donation.

Fig. 53:Q

1848.I.26

Wooden Arrow. Polynesia? Subsequent annotation in original catalogue: "*Probably Africa*". From New Guinea?

Length 37 cm.

Spool-shaped point with carved-out barbs in spiral round tip in three groups of three each.

Fig. 51

1848.I.46

Stone. Polynesia?

Not in original catalogue but provided with usual label: *Coll. Alströmer: vet. (1848)*.

Length 28 cm, heavier end about 4×7 cm.

Of sand-stone. Shape irregularly wedge-like, probably fracture in surface at heavier end.

The more smooth surfaces towards the point suggest a possible use of the stone for grinding or polishing.

Fig. 53:I

1848.1.28

Reed Arrow, Head of Wood, with Barbs. New Hebrides? Provenance as given in original catalogue: "*Solomon Islands*".

Length 98 cm.

Shaft of smooth reed. Rear end broken off. Head of wood with four rows or barbs on tip.

The resemblance to a New Hebrides arrow depicted by *Speiser* (1923 Pl. 23:8) would indicate that this specimen hails from Malo. However, as pointed out by Curator Karl-Eric Larsson, Ethnographical Museum, Gothenburg, details such as the fact that the shaft is non-nodal and the winding in the point end of the shaft is done with string speak against such origin.

Fig. 53:J

1848.1.29

Reed Arrow. Provenance in original catalogue: "*Solomon Islands*".

New Hebrides?

Length 117 cm.

Shaft of nodal reed with string notch at rear end and lashing at point. Spool-shaped head with four rows of barbs in head's lengthwise direction running almost all the way to the shaft. (Head found loose 1960, so that a mix-up may have occurred).

Fig. 53:H

1848.1.31 a—b

Reed Arrow (tip damaged). New Guinea. Original catalogue: *Melanesia*. Provenance subsequently complemented with "*New Hebrides*".

Length of shaft 55 cm, length of head 34 cm.

In two parts 1960. Shaft of nodal reed. Rear end, now crushed, seems to have been cut off straight. Foreshaft of wood with tip of bone with triangular cross-section and groove-like sides. In one groove traces of smeared-on substance (poison?). At its base this tip has three fibre lashings and between the two lowest a ball-like part, probably a wax-like substance. Wooden foreshaft below shows carved decoration painted in red and black, the latter slightly blue-tinted. Above some ring-shaped

fibre plaitings, as also below on the preserved section of reed shaft.

An identical tip of bone but with varying carved decoration on the foreshaft and thus also somewhat different from the present specimen is to be found on a couple of arrows from Simbang, Finschhafen, New Guinea, in the collections of the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden (Coll. E. N. 255—256).

Fig. 53:K

1848.1.30

Reed Arrow with Carved and Painted Head of Wood. Provenance as given in original catalogue: “Solomon Islands”, subsequently added “Santa Cruz”.

Length 122 cm.

Shaft of nodal reed with string notch at rear end and lashing at point. Spool-shaped head — tip broken off — with carved ornamentation painted in red and white concentrated nearest to shaft.

Practically square cross-section of the ornamented part. At the base of the spool-shaped section are three windings covered by a wax-like substance.

According to Curator Karl Eric Larsson, Ethnographical Museum, Gothenburg, there are in this museum similar arrows from Sta. Cruz.

Fig. 53:O

1848.1.57

Angling-Rod. England.

Length 75 cm.

Turned stick-like wooden handle with “rod”, possibly of whalebone, firmly stuck in at one end, its tip broken off. On anterior part of wooden handle are driven in two iron nails with flat brass heads on which the line — a twined green string — is wound.

From Johan Alströmer’s London correspondence with his relatives at home it appears that he also purchased several different objects of everyday use such as whips, partly in order to reproduce them on his arrival in Sweden. In a letter dated June 5, 1778, he enumerates various purchases made in England and adds:

“For my own account I have bought only tools and fishing gear . . .”

Figs. 56—57

1848.1.59

“Peludo”, plaited mat of esparto grass. Spain.

Original catalogue: *Square mat plaited of wood fibres, on one side long-haired. Australia?*

50 × 50 cm.

Made in spiral of a flat braid of five strands of esparto grass in such fashion that the free ends of the grass form a ruffled surface on the upper side. In Spain mats of this sort are in use to this day. In Madrid they are regarded as specially useful in keeping away the cold in floors in winter (cf. Fig. 55).

In 1760—64 Clas Alströmer undertook a journey abroad in the course of which he also visited Spain (cf. p. 20). The present specimen was probably purchased by him on that occasion.

POSTSCRIPT

Smith (1960 pp. 2—3) in his “*European Vision and the South Pacific 1768—1850*” characterizes the research in the South Seas initiated by Banks and Solander on the occasion of Cook’s first voyage as follows:

“On Cook’s *Endeavour* an important step was taken to advance the technique of objective observation and recording employed on far voyages by the use of scientific observers and professional artists . . . The plan of operation adopted by Banks and Cook on the *Endeavour* became standard practice for many later expeditions . . . Now such sciences as botany, zoology, and the nascent science of ethnology, made extensive use of draughtsmen to assist in the description of material observed or collected . . .”

Smith could have added that the practice of “the nascent science of ethnology” aboard the *Endeavour* also included the collection of objects tending to shed light on native ways of life. The Banks Collection of ethnographica in the Alströmer Museum is a direct result of such activities. Admittedly, objects made by natives in extra-European areas had been sent to Europe before — a case in point being those shipped by Cortés from Mexico to the Emperor Charles V and so admired by Albrecht Dürer (*Nowotny* 1960 pp. 17—18). But the motive here was mere curiosity and the objects as such were consequently regarded simply as curios.

In Sweden, too, objects of this kind were in the 18th-century termed “curiosities” as distinct from plants, shells, minerals and the like which were termed “naturalia”.

The zeal with which ethnographica were collected at the time of Cook’s first and subsequent voyages can, however, be traced also to several other causes than a simple craving for curiosities (cf. pp. 91, 105).

With their slogan of “Back to Nature”, Rousseau and his French rationalist followers had created a romantic interest in “the noble savage” and thereby also in the ways of life of primitive peoples. Reading the accounts of Cook’s voyages, notably his calls in the Society Islands, such ways of living increasingly struck people as an ideal state of existence. To the French nature worshippers Tahiti became “an ideal Kingdom and La Nouvelle Cythère” — an unreal paradise. Contributory in a high degree to the creation of this idealized picture of the South Seas

was the distinguished appearance and dignified behaviour of the Tahitian native Omai brought to England by Captain Cook on his second voyage.

The ethnographica brought home by Banks from Cook's first voyage were intended not merely for museums but for pictorial reproduction in the published reports of the voyage (cf. p. 87). This applies to an even greater extent to the objects collected in the course of Cook's subsequent voyages.

That the concept of an ideal South Seas way of living was hardly consistent with reality was never noticed. The weapons in the collections brought home would alone have led a critical reader of the travel accounts to question the romantic notion of the noble savage, but the pens of the visionaries proved to be weapons more redoubtable than the stark facts offered by travel accounts or museum exhibits. One might have thought that as some of the South Seas natives were cannibals, and as James Cook, hero of the epic stories that helped so greatly to shape the concept of the noble savage was himself treacherously murdered by them, this fanciful picture would have been destroyed. On the other hand, the doctored picture of the South Sea native helped the 18th-Century European to escape from a depressing reality and served much the same purpose as cinema and television do to many people today. As yet ethnography as a science was far too young to stand up to the romantic picture sketched by a clever scribe.

The French enlightenment saw in science a means of finding new ways to give the individual better living conditions. This utilitarian view applies also to the botany branch of the natural sciences that Banks and Solander mainly practised. Solander was one of Linnaeus's many pupils and as such was influenced by the Linnaean view of what should be the essential object of botany — the achievement within the plant world of a systematic classification as exhaustive and comprehensive as possible. In practice this implied a plea for collecting — in the case of Banks and Solander the creation of as complete an herbarium as possible of the South Sea flora, with accompanying descriptions of the plants. Linnaeus, too, was influenced by the French view of the aim of botany, namely the improvement of human living conditions by the discovery of new culture plants, and their implanting in other areas to increase the national prosperity.

This is the reason why, in the museum at Hammarby, Linnaeus's country property outside Upsala, a memorial plaque with two Wedge-

wood medallions showing the likenesses in profile of Sir Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, on a blue foundation and with a gilt frame symbolising their circumnavigation of the world on the Endeavour, has the motto "discere quid quæque ferat regio" — "to learn to know the products of each region" — a motto that also reflects the French enlightened utilitarian view of the purpose of scientific research (Rydén 1961).

The influence exerted on his pupils by Linnaeus's view as to the dual aim of botanical science is demonstrated by the research carried out by another pupil of his, Pehr Löfving, who was somewhat senior to Daniel Solander. In 1751—54 Pehr Löfving was in Spain and in 1754 joined, as head of the botanical investigations, José de Iturriaga's great border expedition to South America. Löfving's task was to find out all about various medicinal herbs used in South America and the spices there, etc. The hope was cherished in Spain that cinnamon might be found in South America, which would render the Spaniards independent of the trade monopoly in this commodity held by the Dutch in the East Indies (Rydén 1957).

The French enlightened utilitarian view of botanical research and the natural sciences in general is reflected also in the endeavours of Banks and Solander, even in the actual composition of the collection donated in due course to the Alströmer Museum. In New Zealand for instance Banks and Solander had learnt to know a plant by them called New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), a raw material used by the Maori for making certain fabrics. It would seem that the two scientists brought samples of this fibre to England, no doubt in order to investigate the feasibility of using this raw material in the now flourishing textile industry. The fact that the Alströmer family were the founders of the first larger mills of this kind in Sweden indicates why Banks included also samples of this material in his donation to the Alströmer Museum.

The frequently recurring wars in Europe rendered trading across the oceans extremely hazardous. England obtained cordage and the raw material for cordage from the Baltic counties. Spain was also interested in this trade (Rydén 1954, p. 18). Enemy naval action might easily hinder the equipment of men-o'-war. A search was made for new material for rope-making. By her hegemony in the Baltic Sweden had earlier controlled this trade. By this time, however, Sweden's arch-enemy Russia was dominant. For this reason there was just as great an interest in rope-making in Sweden as there was in England and Spain, the two chief markets for Baltic cordage and raw material for rope-making.

The great interest in Cook's voyages in the South Seas and his discoveries there was shared by all European nations.

In his letters, as we have seen, Johan Alströmer devoted ample space to England's foreign-political situation (*Rydén* 1960), while wondering whether in circumstances of this kind Captain Cook would be able to fulfil his task. In due course he could report home with evident relief that whenever the English captured a French man-o'-war:

"... there were printed *Circulaire-ordres* for all French Ships not even in the case of war to worry *Capit.* Cook the least, but instead in all possible ways to try to assist him with all he might need, since he was despatched for such *découvertes* as were to the common weal of mankind. These *ordres* do the French and Herr de Sartini great credit ..."

The French were thus as chivalrous in their attitude towards the scientists of a hostile nation as the English had been some 30 years earlier in the case of Spain's Antonio de Ulloa. In England Joseph Banks as patron of science carried on this tradition (*Cameron* 1952, p. 209 ff).

Similarly Cook's own arresting accounts of his voyages, straightforward and to the point in all their simplicity but thrilling enough to his contemporaries, were devoured everywhere by lettered Europeans whose imaginations had been fired by "the noble savage". Translations were published in a number of countries. The enormous interest evinced in Sweden is shown by *Du Rietz* (1960) who, in his work on Swedish publications on Cook's voyages prior to 1819, enumerates no less than 19 different editions. A contributory cause of this great interest was occasioned by the fact that also Swedish natural scientists — Solander and Sparrman — were also members of two of his expeditions. Several of the volumes listed by *Du Rietz* are indeed written by Sparrman.

In Sweden, the Alströmer Museum with its Banks donation of ethnographica from the South Seas, in conjunction with the accounts of Cook's voyages published in Swedish, must have aroused a keen interest in the South Seas, particularly in the town that was the main residence of the Alströmers, in mainly Gothenburg, Sweden's largest port. The Alströmer Museum, as long as it was located there, was kept open, as previously at Alingsås, to all students, in the spirit of the French enlightenment. It is an established fact that this interest in the South Seas was still very much alive in Gothenburg way into the 19th century some 25 years after the transfer of the collections to Gäsevadholm. Thus, in the early 1800's, when the drawing-room in the Bishops Palace, Västra Hamngatan 17, was to be repaired, a wallpaper patterned on a design representing a South Sea pastoral idyll — a theme derived from Captain Cook's voyages — was chosen. This

wallpaper was discovered in the course of a renovation in 1929. In view of the scanty clothing worn by South Sea women one might assume that wallpaper of this kind would have proved objectionable, particularly in an episcopal residence. However, as appears from Figs. 20—21, the artist responsible for the design has given the women at least more clothing than they actually wore, which may explain the singular choice of wall-paper by His Grace or his wife. In a newspaper article *Gardell* (1929) comments as follows:

“Presumably the paintings are executed after English engravings completed after Cook’s murder in 1779 and spread around Europe at this time . . . The type of craft and their sails agree with certain woodcuts occurring in the narrative by Hawkesworth, Cook’s contemporary, of the travels by explorers in the South Seas . . . Wall-papers of this kind are not common in our museums. These can in all probability be dated to around 1810. They are not of *grisaille* paintings, in black, white and grey — but in alternating, decorative colours . . . The colours are bright and strong. Red, blue, green, and brown predominate and this brilliance in conjunction with the exotic theme gives the viewer a sense of true tropical splendour . . .”

This wallpaper is of French manufacture. It recurs in “*Dufour & Bercy*” (s.a. Pls. II—III) and was produced 1804—05, i.e. at a time when France was once more becoming England’s bitterest and most irreconcilable enemy. In these circumstances the production in France of a wall-paper with themes derived from Captain Cook’s voyages is remarkable proof of how idealistic interests can bridge political antagonisms.

A contributory reason for the keen interest created in Gothenburg in the travels of Captain Cook and other Englishmen in the South Seas must have been the number of English merchants permanently settled there. Such works as George Keate’s “*Account of the Pelew Islands*”, composed from the journals and communications of Captain Henry Wilson and issued 1788, may easily have found their way to the Swedish shipping centre and thus contributed to the spread of the “noble savage” myth.

Just as Cook brought back Omai with him from Tahiti, so Captain Henry Wilson brought back a young native boy, “Prince Lee Boo”, from the Pelew Islands. The young man died, however, shortly after his arrival in England. In Keate’s descriptions of him we find both the idea of the “noble savage” and the utilitarian attitude that were so characteristic of the French enlightenment (cf. *Plischke* 1960 Pl. IX p. 101).

“I was perfectly astonished at the ease and gentleness of his manners; he was lively and pleasant, and had a politeness without form, or restraint, which appeared to be the result of natural good-breeding. . .”

"He adapted himself very readily to whatever he saw were the customs of the country, and fully confirmed me in an opinion which I have ever entertained, that *natural* good manners is the *natural* result of *natural* good sense. . ."

"Whenever he had opportunities of seeing gardens, he was an attentive observer of the plants and fruit-trees, would ask many questions about them, and say, when he returned home, he would take seeds of such as would live and flourish in *Pelew*; talked frequently of the things he should then persuade the King to alter, or adopt; and appeared in viewing most objects to consider how far they might be rendered useful to his own country. . . ." (Keate 1788 pp. 346, 349, 355)

It is understandable that Keate's contemporaries were moved by this idealistic picture. In my own copy of Keate's work there is written also the following "Address to the young prince, Lee Boo":

"Thou, thankful, generous, unsuspecting youth;
Sweet simple soul of innocence and truth;
Might no kind Angel wing from Heav'n his way,
To bid on earth thy gentle spirit stay?
Oh hadst thou staid to glad thine anxious Sire,
Whose moons must roll in vain, till every hope expire."

The anonymous owner of the book and admirer of "the noble savage" from the Pelew Islands has also in several places in the book simply written out the name: "Lee Boo".

From what we now know of Johan Alströmer's activities in England it would appear that he sympathized more with America than with England, or at least that he was convinced of an American victory in the fight for independence. Alströmer does not state expressly that Banks, too, envisaged a final triumph for the colonies in revolt. However, since Banks and his intimates evidently was the source from which Alströmer drew his information on the foreign-political situation as reported to Sweden, there is a strong possibility that this was the case.

At any event, the South Seas collection donated by Banks stands now as a monument to a friendship and a collaboration developed under the auspices of a common interest in sciences that was powerful enough to overcome political differences. Banks personally provided brilliant testimony to the same effect when he intervened on behalf of certain French scientists, and helped them to recover a collection of Greek antiquities carried aboard a French corvette which had been captured by Lord Nelson's Mediterranean squadron. In spite of the war, the collection was successfully returned to its lawful owners (Cameron 1952 pp. 209—211).

Now that this study on the Banks Collection is at an end, it remains only to state that an ethnographical collection is not only a historical document in the sense that it preserves to posterity the memory of a primitive people and a primitive form of life. Such a collection can also, as we have seen, reflect the ideology, the view on society of an earlier age in Europe, and the collection's own history can reflect episodes and whole courses of events that occupied the thoughts of those who made the collection, or in which they were personally involved.

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Fig. 6. Omai – Tahitian native who accompanied Captain Cook to England on his second voyage – Sir Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander. Painting by William Parry now at Nannau, Dolgelley, N. Wales. Reproduced by courtesy of Brigadier C.H.V. Vaughan, D.S.O., and the National Museum of Wales.



D^R SOLANDER, F.R.S.

Fig. 7. Daniel Solander. Drawing by James Sowerby, engraving by James Newton.
Courtesy of British Museum.

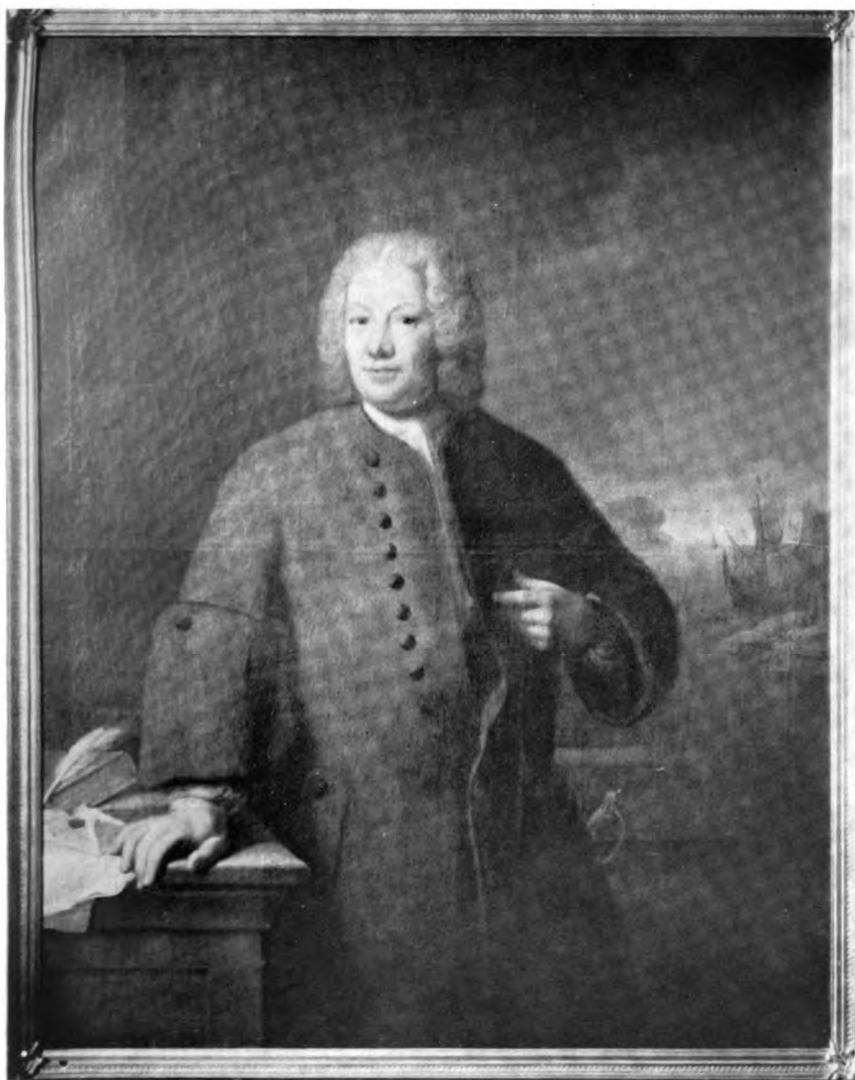


Fig. 8. Commercial Councillor Jonas Alströmer (1685–1761). Painting by G. E. Schröder.
Östad Manor. Svenska Porträttarkivet, Stockholm.



Fig. 9. Commercial Councillor Baron Patrik Alströmer (1733–1804). Painting by P. Kraft the Elder. Östad Manor. Svenska Porträttarkivet, Stockholm.



Fig. 10. Director August Alströmer (1735–1773). Pastel drawing by G. Lundberg. Koberg Castle. Svenska Porträttarkivet, Stockholm.



Fig. 11. Commercial Councillor Baron Clas Alströmer (1736–1794). Painting by P. Kraft the Elder. Koberg Castle. Svenska Porträttarkivet, Stockholm.



Fig. 12. Christinedal outside Gothenburg. This was where the Alströmer Museum with the Banks donation was kept in 1784, when it is first mentioned. Christinedal, once outside the girdle of the town's fortifications, is now located within the city limits and serves as day nursery for the children of parents employed in the famous S.K.F. concern.

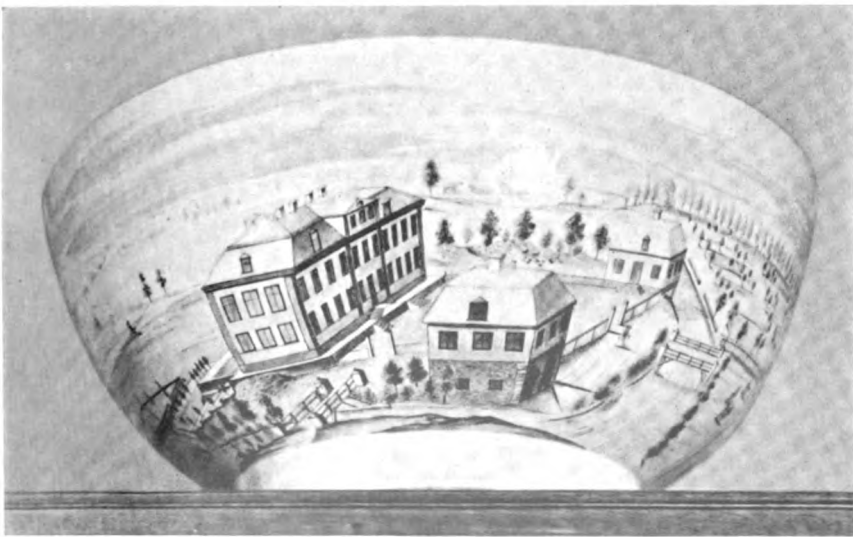


Fig. 13. Clas Alströmer's property Gasevadholm where Francisco de Miranda, liberator *in spe* of South America, in 1787 inspected and described the Banks donation. Chinese bowl. Koberg Castle.

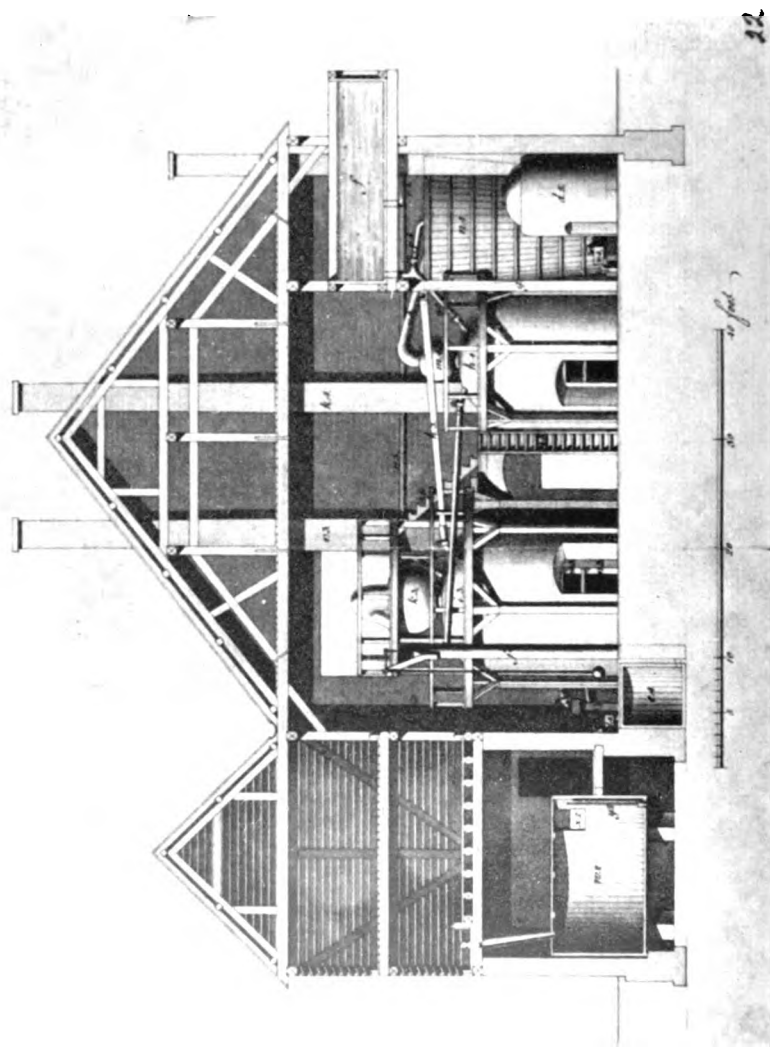


Fig. 14. One of five drawings showing the whisky distillery at Limehouse, London, done by architect C. W. Carlberg, Johan Alströmer's travelling companion and assistant. From these drawings Carlberg subsequently worked out a project for a similar distillery planned by the Alströmer brothers in the outskirts of Gothenburg. Östad Archive, Gothenburg's Provincial Archive.



24. 1779.

Fig. 15. The satirical print mentioned by Johan Alströmer and published in London 1778. Cabinet member Lord Sandwich – close friend and patron in the Government of Banks, Solander and Alströmer – is seen in the upper row farthest right. Courtesy of British Museum.

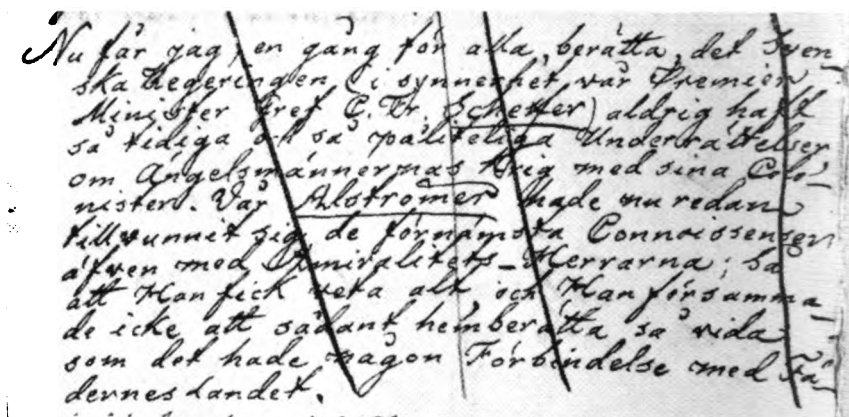


Fig. 16. From Dr. Fagraeus' original notes for Nicander's memorial speech in honor of Johan Alströmer 1791. The crossed-out reference (omitted in the printed version, Nicander 1791) reveals Alströmer's activities as political reporter from England 1777–78.



Fig. 17. Medal struck at the request of Clas and Johan Alströmer "in memory of theirs and Joseph Banks' dear friend Daniel Solander". Designed by Professor G. Liungberger, Stockholm 1783.



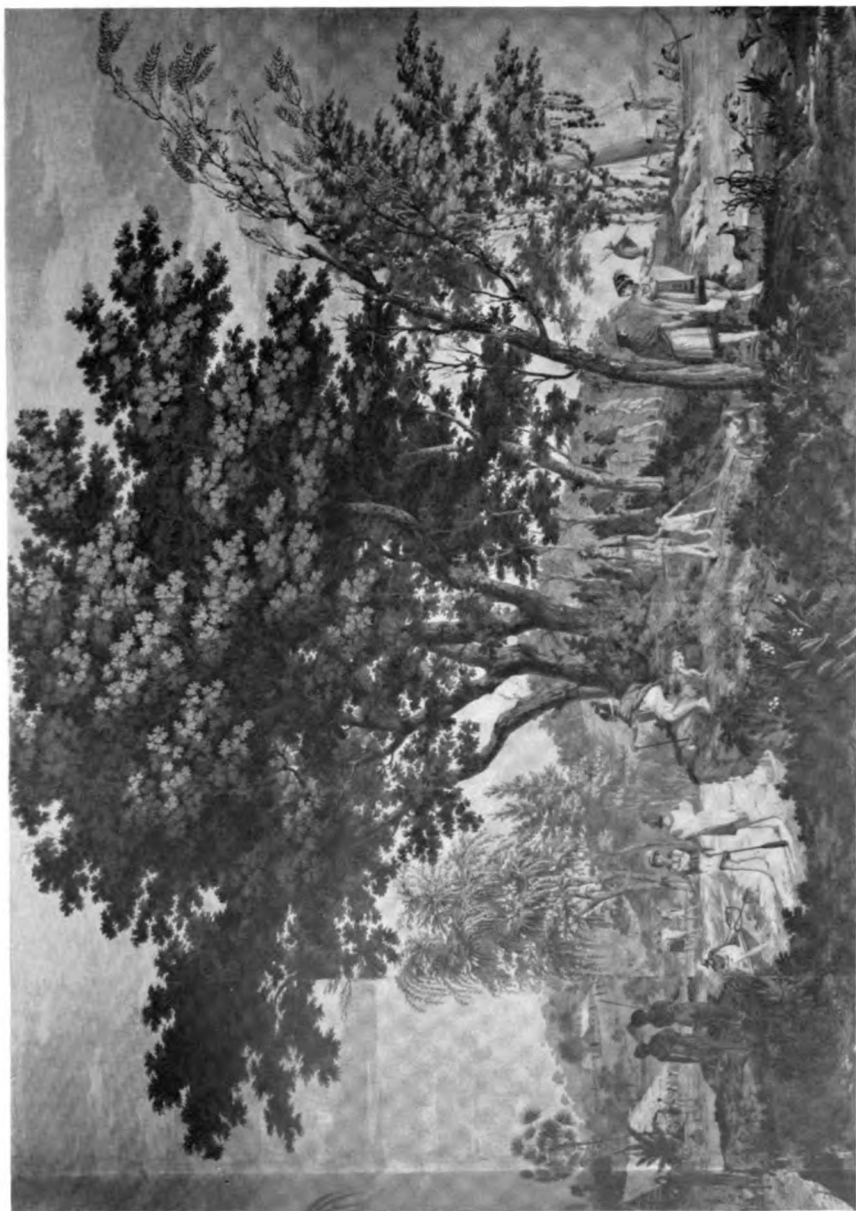
Fig. 18. Medal in memory of Daniel Solander, struck in 1940 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.



Fig. 19. On the demolition 1913 of the Swedish Church at Prince's Square, now Swedenborg Square, Stepney, Solander's casket, like those of other Swedes, was moved to the Brookwood cemetery at Working purchased in 1857. The picture shows Daniel Solander's tomb erected in 1940 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.



Fig. 20.



Figs. 20—21. French wallpaper with theme from Cook's voyages in the Bishop's Palace, Gothenburg, the town where the Alströmer Collection with Banks's specimens from Cook's first voyage were kept for a number of years.

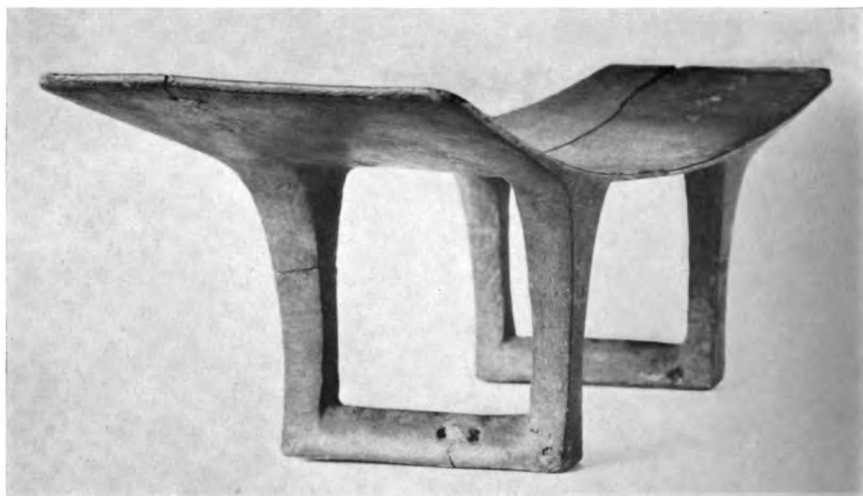


Fig. 22. Head rest. Tahiti.



Fig. 23. Detail showing the attachment of the stone blade to an adze (cf. Fig. 28). Tahiti.

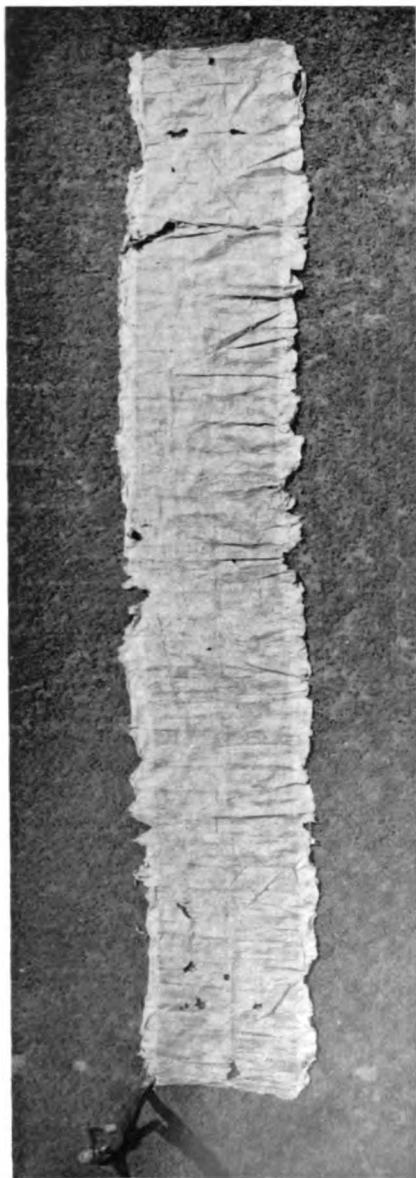
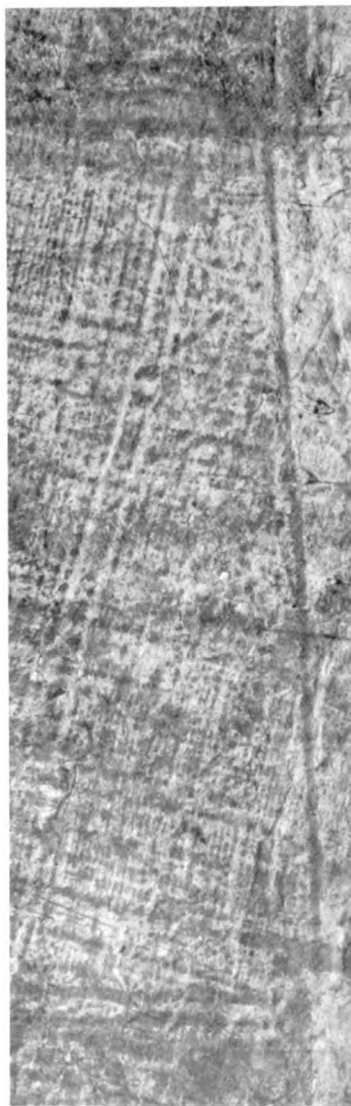


Fig. 24.



Figs. 24—25. Piece of tapa cloth from Tahiti with detail of edge. Size apparent by comparison with individual on left. The accomplishment of the decorative strip by means of two rows of patterned rectangles, or each representing one imprint, is noticeable.

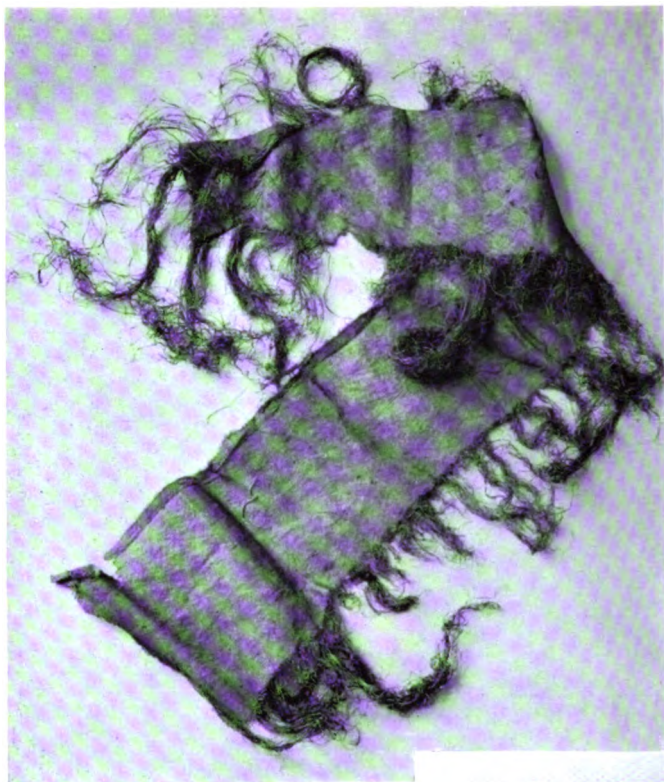


Fig. 26. Plaited belt. Tahiti.



Fig. 27. *Poi* pestle. Tahiti.



Fig. 28. From left, *kataha* (whip sling for throwing darts), and club, New Zealand, adze, Tahiti, two clubs, Tonga Islands.

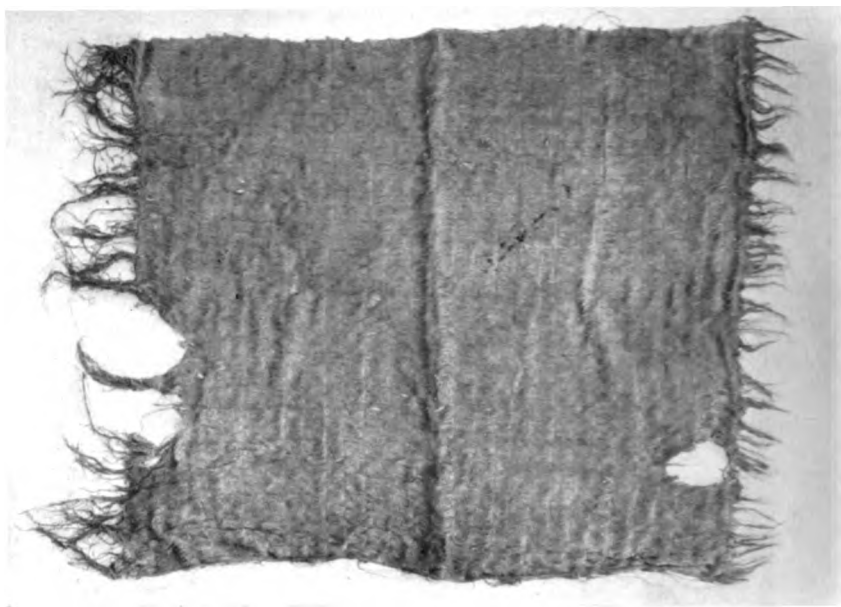


Fig. 29. Cloak (cf. Figs. 31, 35). New Zealand.

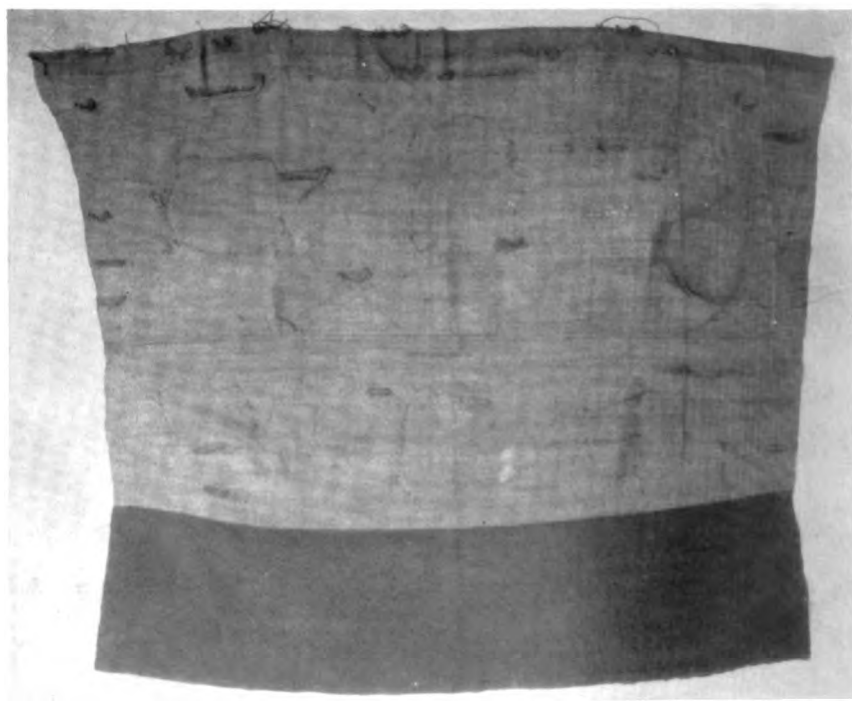


Fig. 30. Cloak dressed with dogskin strips (cf. Fig. 35). New Zealand.

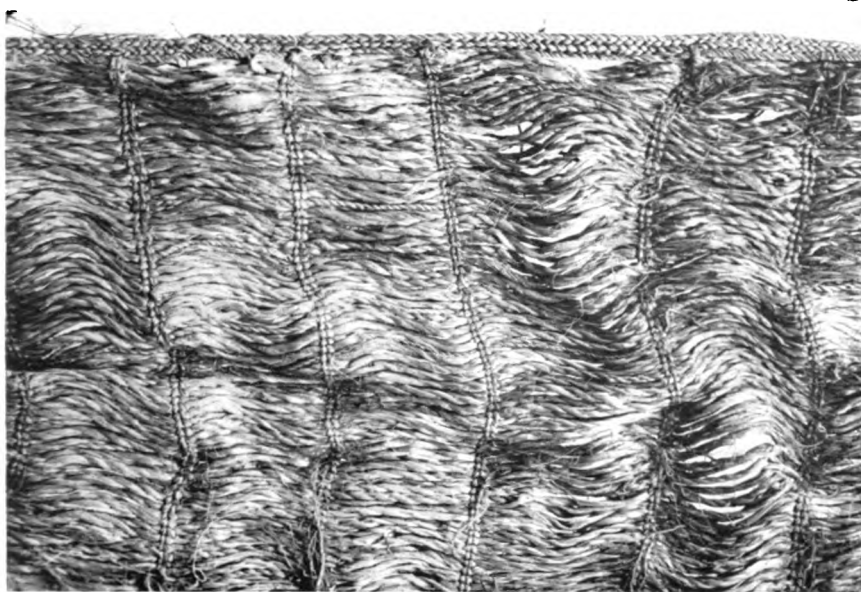


Fig. 31. Detail of cloak in Fig. 29.

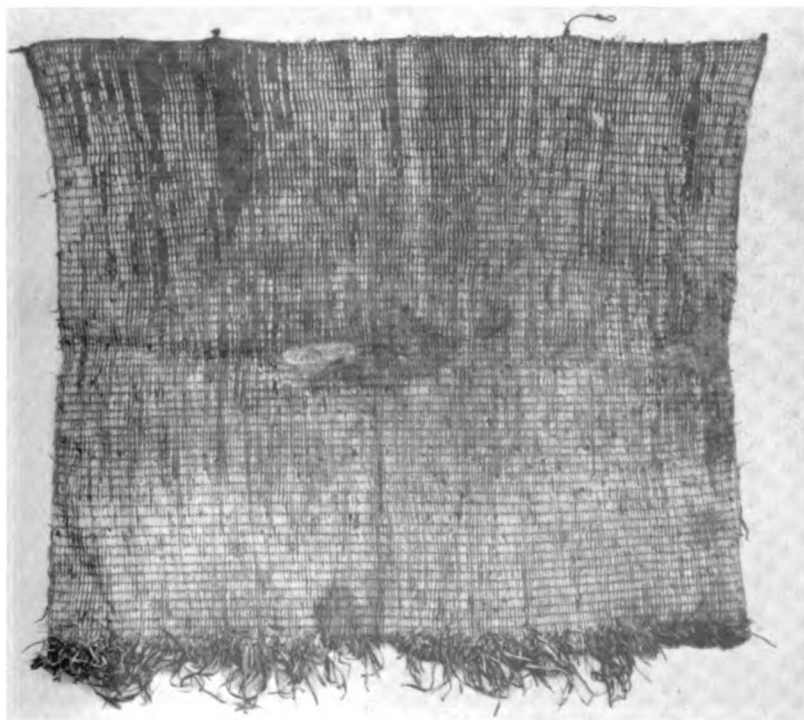


Fig. 32. Cloak dressed with dogskin strips. New Zealand.

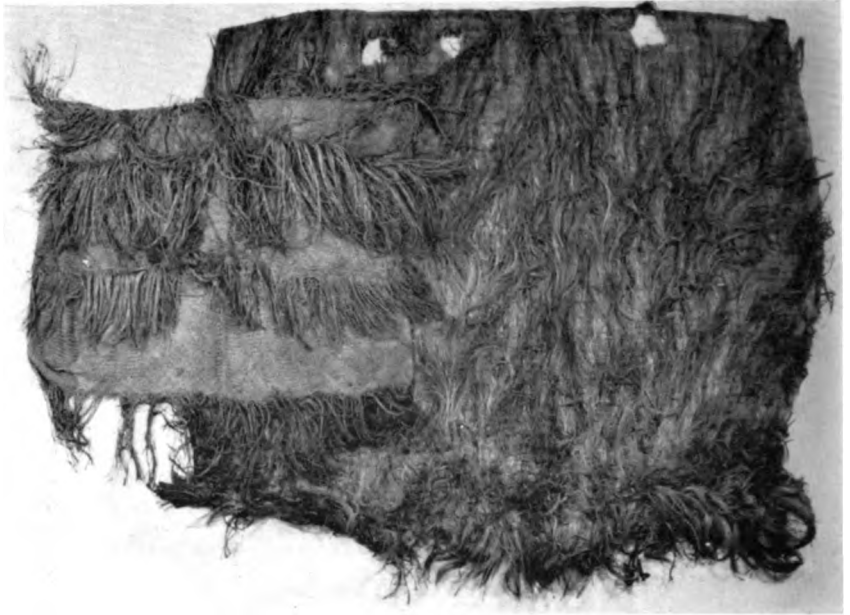
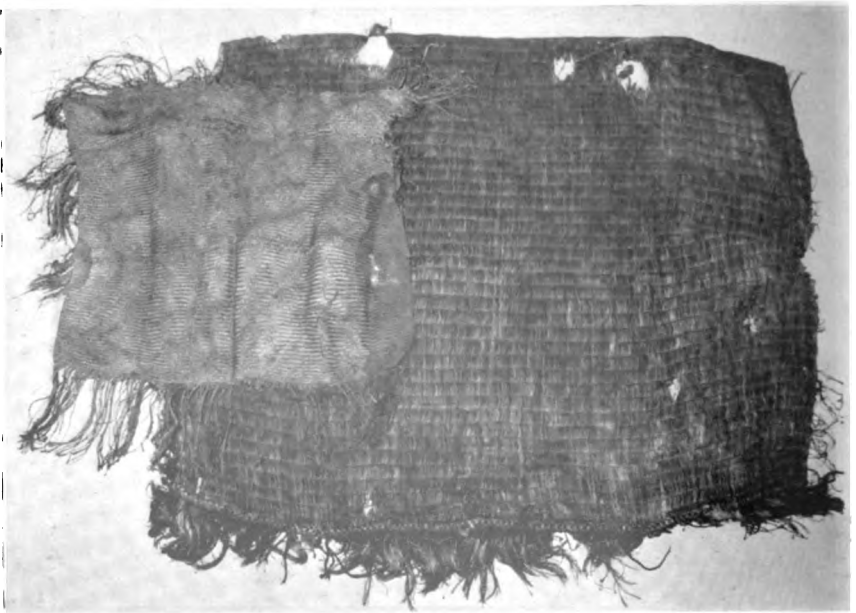


Fig. 33.



Figs. 33-34. Two cloaks. New Zealand.

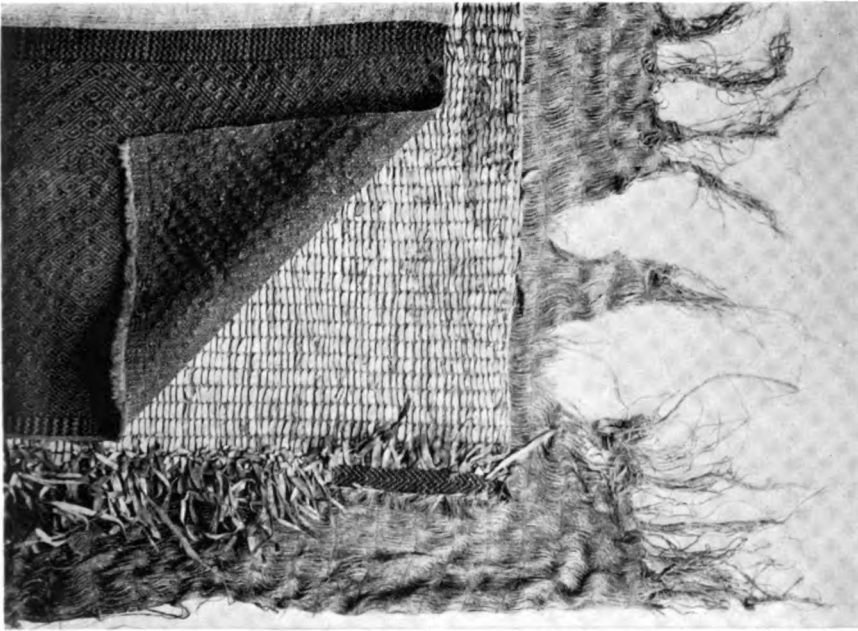


Fig. 35. Details of cloaks in Fig. 30 (top), Fig. 32 (centre) and Figs. 29, 31 (below).



Figs. 36 – 37. Details of *patoo-patoo* at left in Fig. 38.

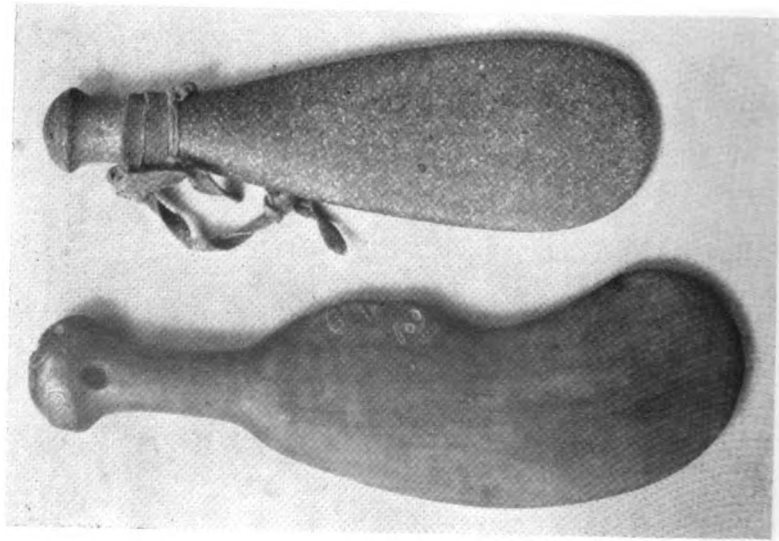


Fig. 38. Two *patoo-patoo*. New Zealand.

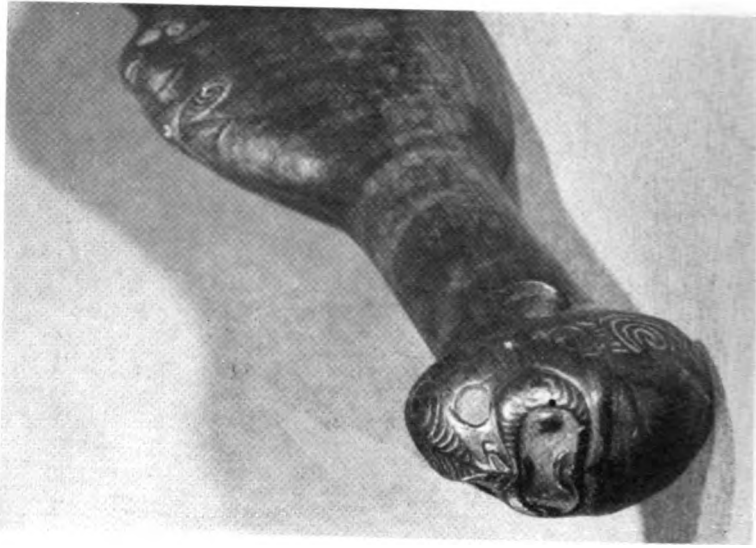


Fig. 39. Detail of handle on *patoo-patoo* on left in Fig. 38.

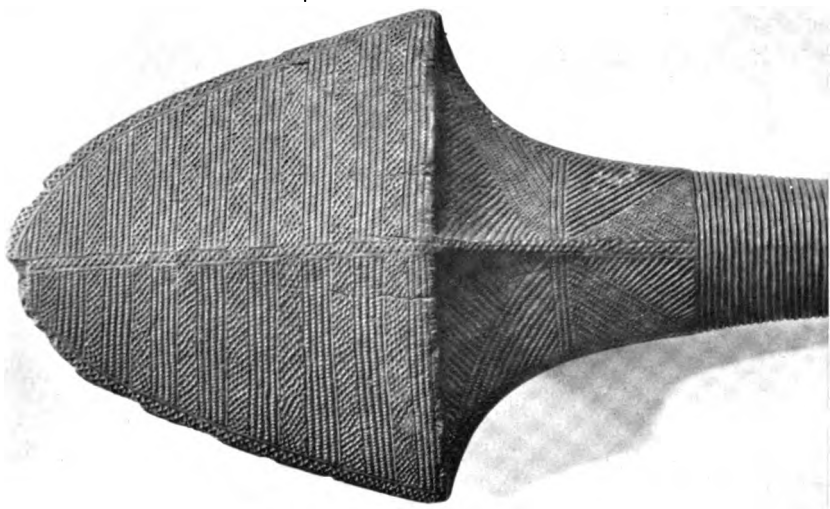


Fig. 41. Club head. Tonga Islands. (cf. Fig. 28).



Fig. 40. Detail showing haft of *kalaha* (cf. Fig. 28).
New Zealand.

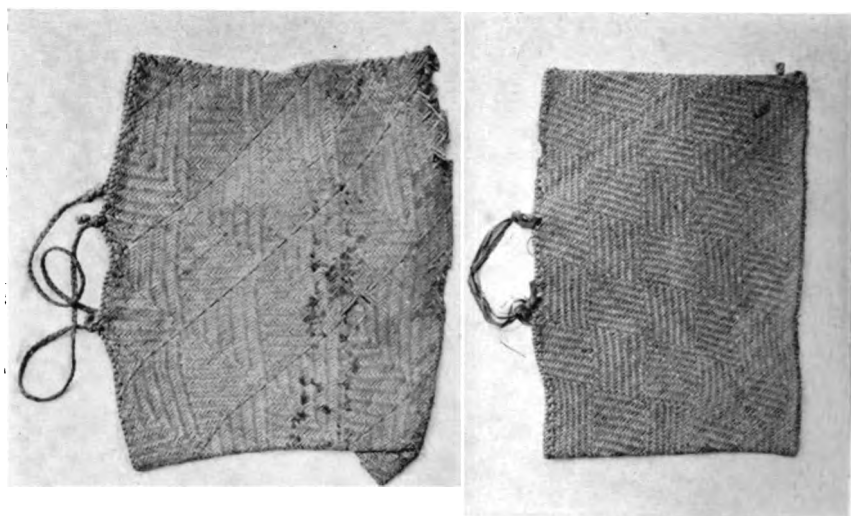


Fig. 43. Two plaited bags. New Zealand.

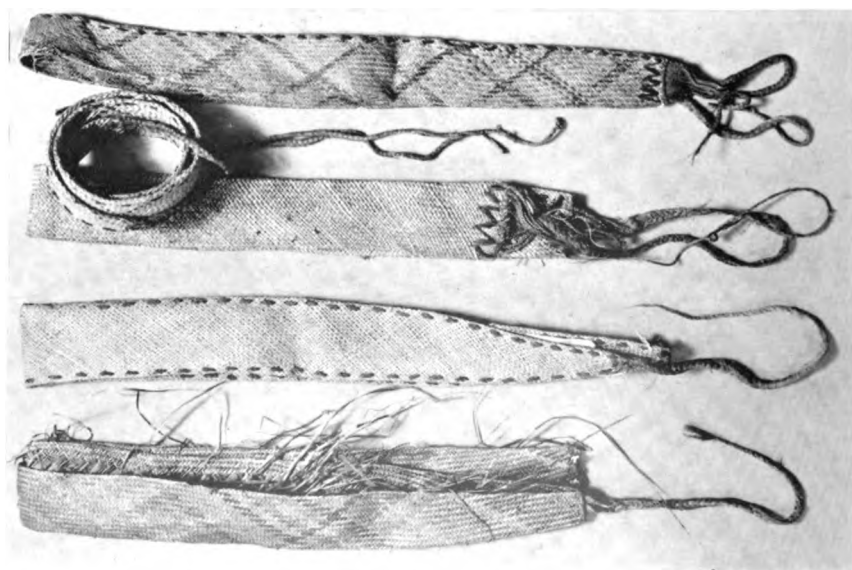


Fig. 42. Five plaited belts. New Zealand.



Fig. 45. Four plaited mats, sample of plaited rope. Polynesia.

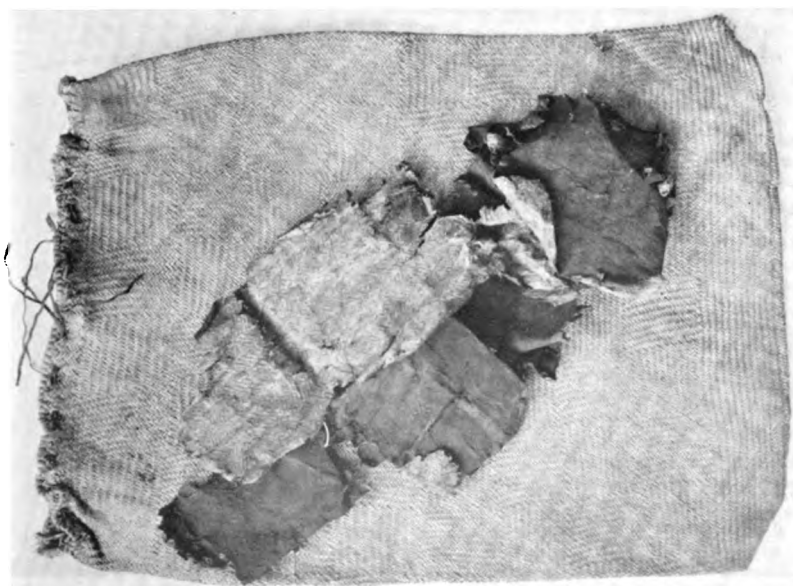


Fig. 44. Plaited bag, New Zealand, and two *tapa* samples, Tahiti.

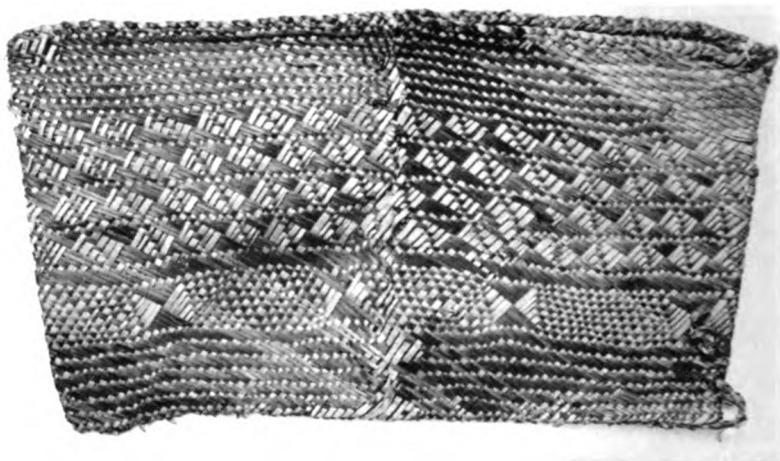


Fig. 46. Plaited bag (cf. Fig. 48) New Zealand.

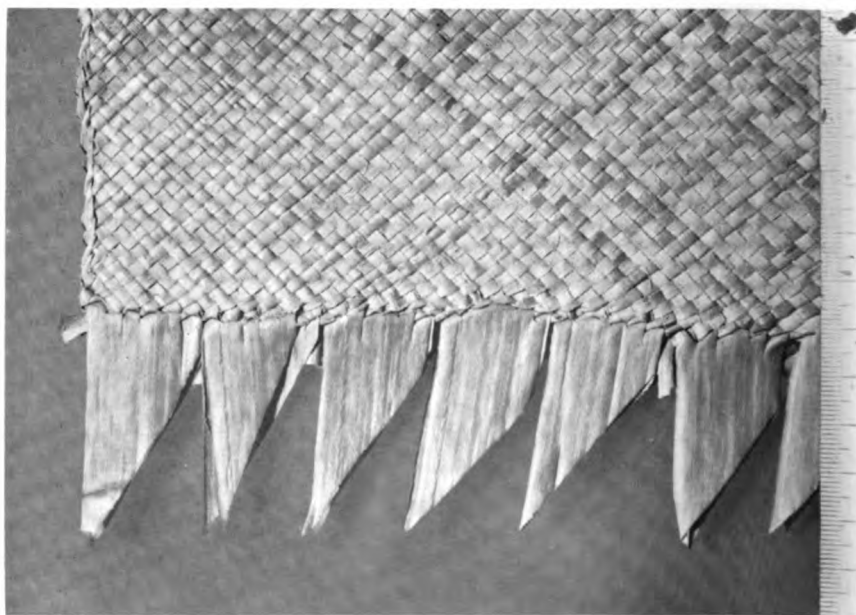


Fig. 47. Detail of plaited mat (cf. Fig. 49). Polynesia.

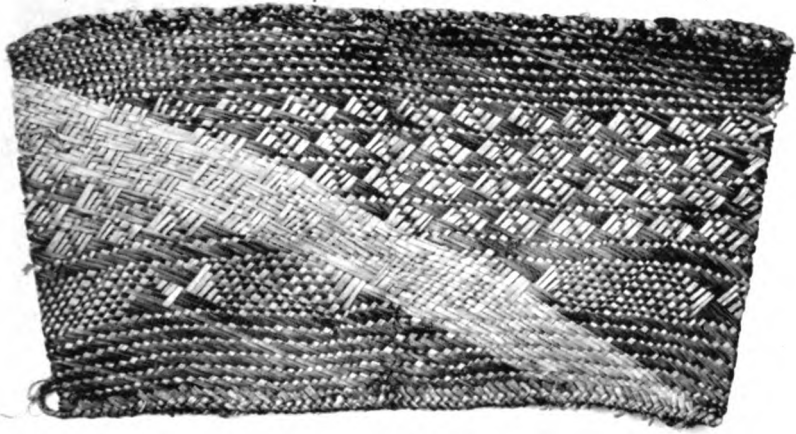


Fig. 48. Plaited bag (same as in Fig. 46). New Zealand.

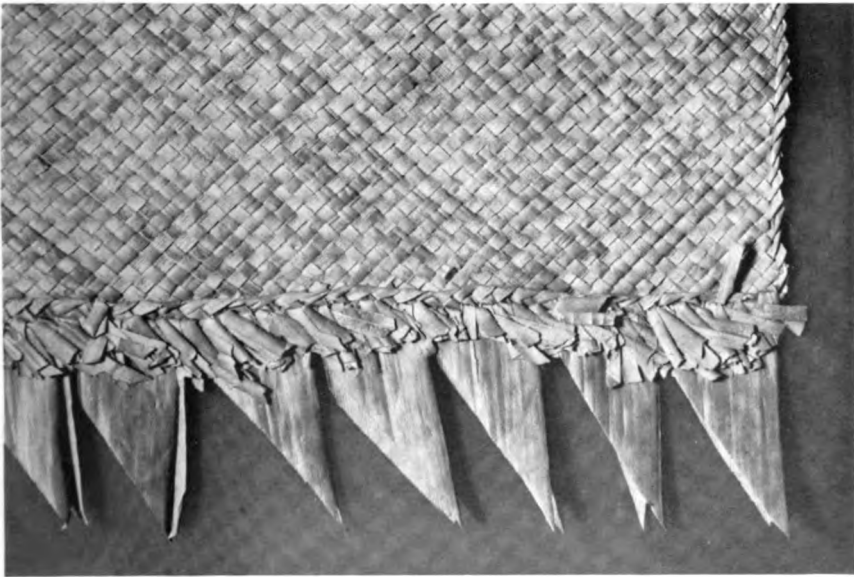


Fig. 49. Detail of plaited mat (same as in Fig. 47). Polynesia.

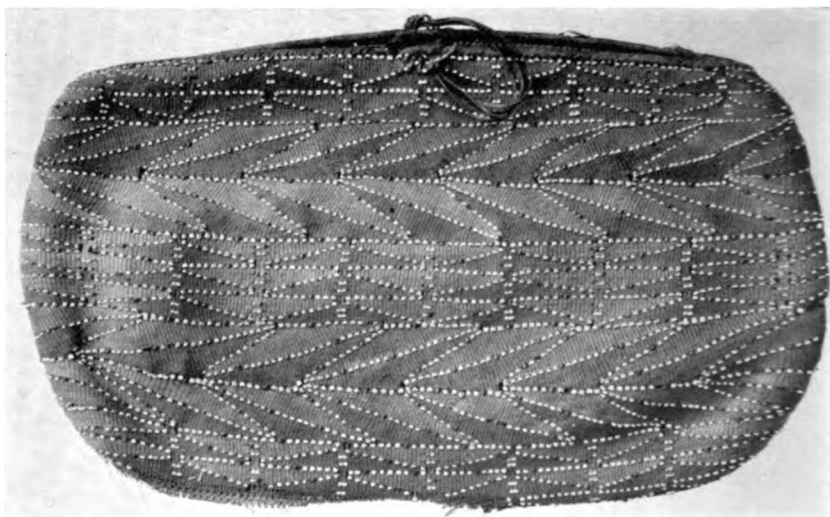


Fig. 50. Plaired bag with shell beads. Tonga Islands.



Fig. 51. Piece of wedge-like, polishing-stone, Polynesia/?/, two samples of New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*) and a calabash bowl, Polynesia/?/.

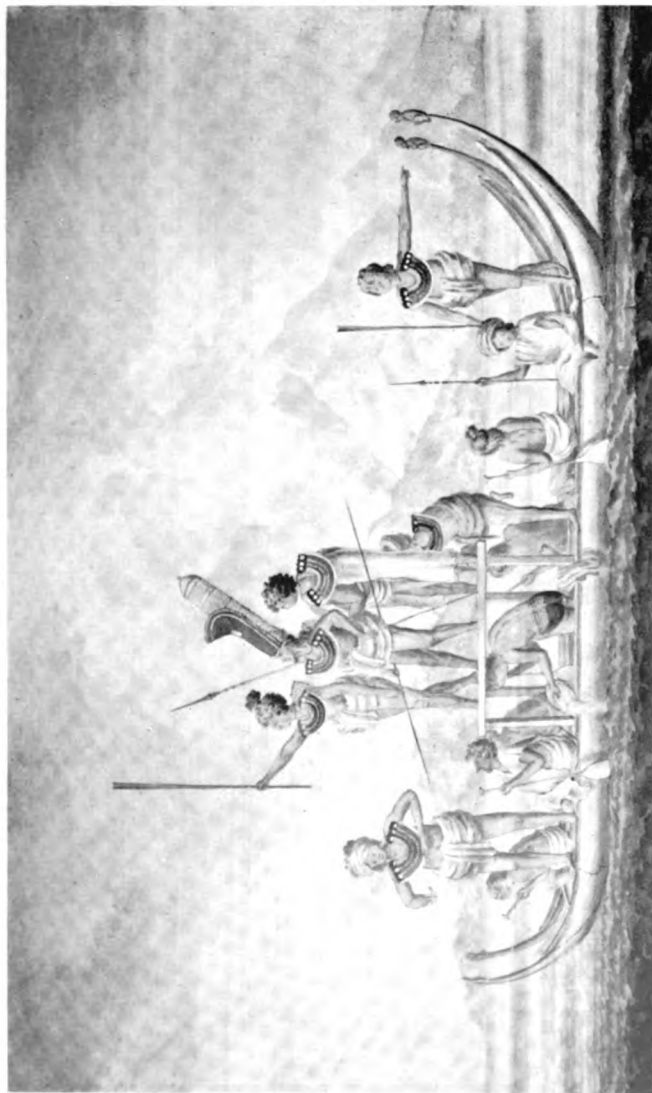


Fig. 52. A war canoe, Tahiti. Cook Collection, British Museum. The clubs are reminiscent of that in Fig. 52:M. Courtesy British Museum.

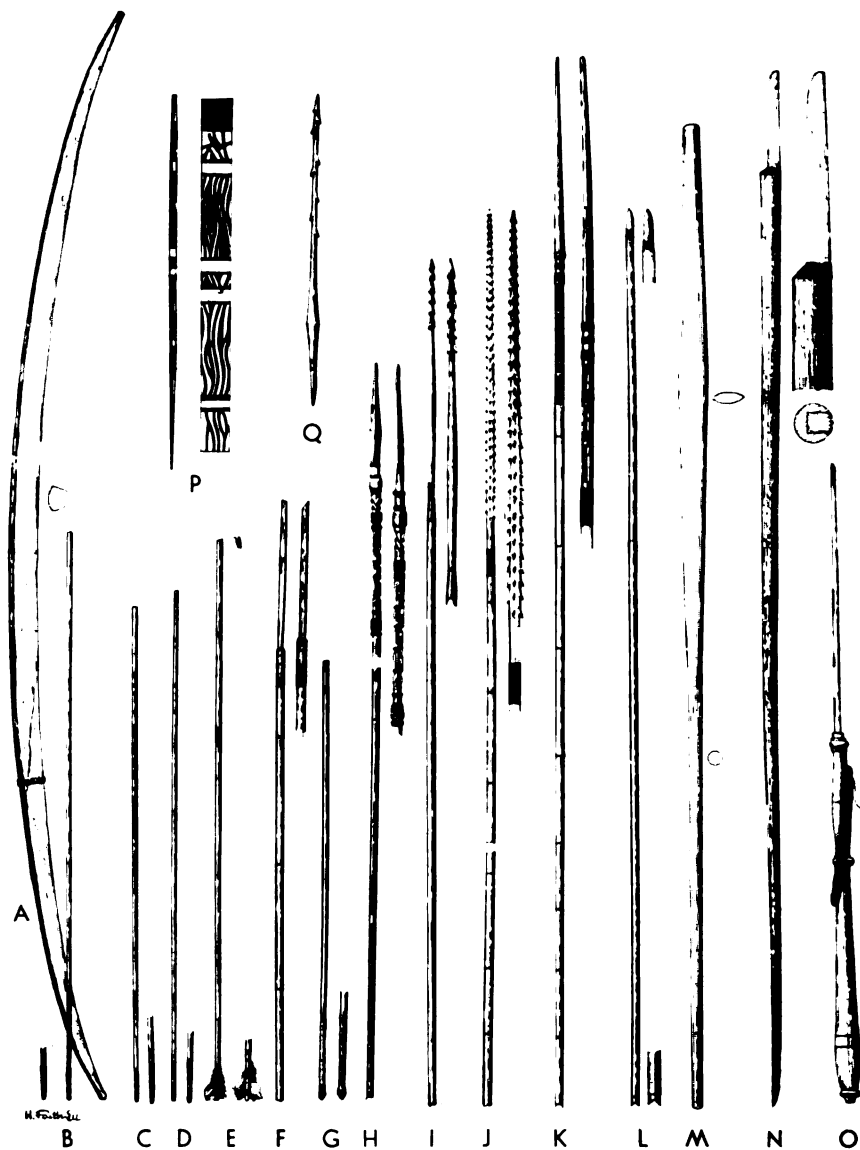
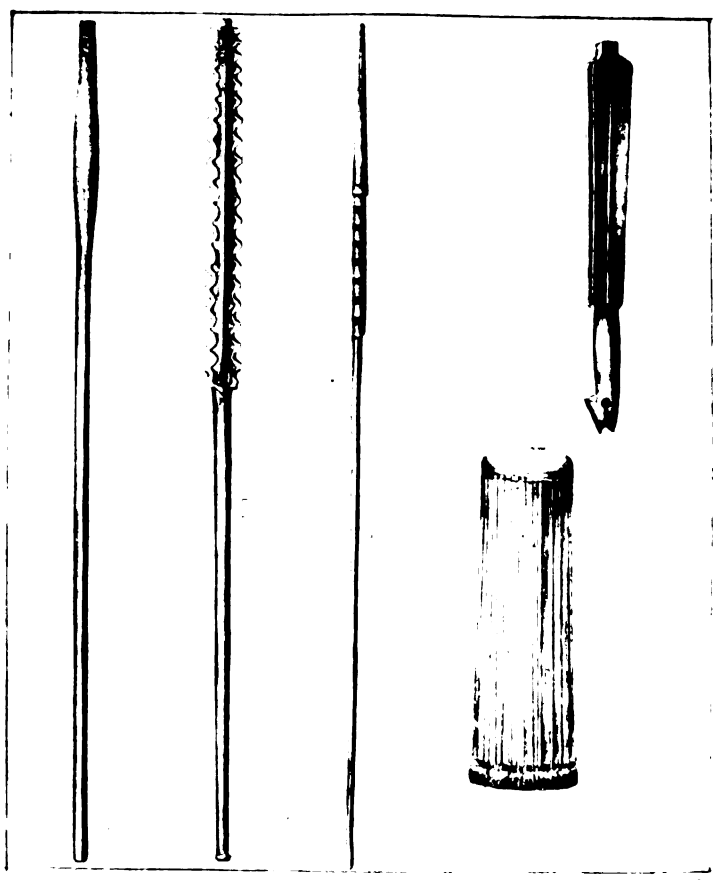


Fig. 53. A-E. Bow and four arrows, Magellan Strait. M. Club. Tahiti. O. Angling-rod with whalebone point. Purchased and brought home by Johan Alströmer on the occasion of his London visit 1777-78. For description of other objects, see text.



- 1 Club
 - 2 Saw
 - 3 Verrochian
 - 4 Drum
 - 5 Weapon
- } Utahiti

Fig. 54. Drawing of sundry Tahitian objects in the Cook Collection, British Museum. On the left a club like that in Fig. 53:M. Courtesy British Museum.

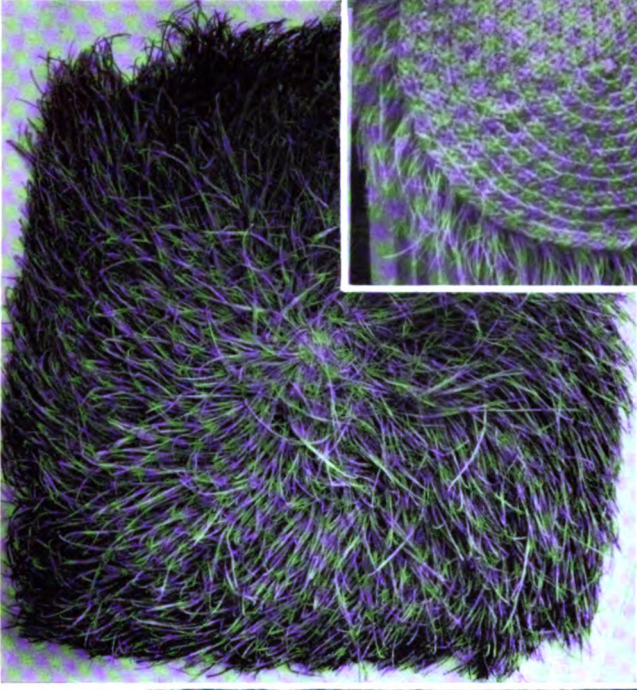


Fig. 56.

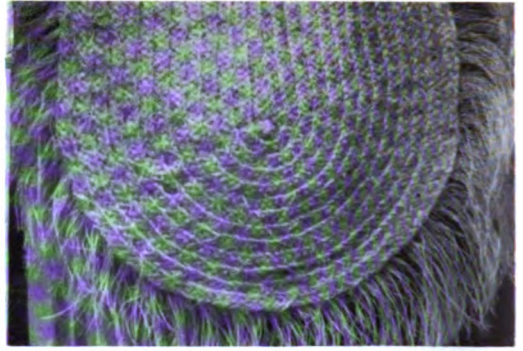
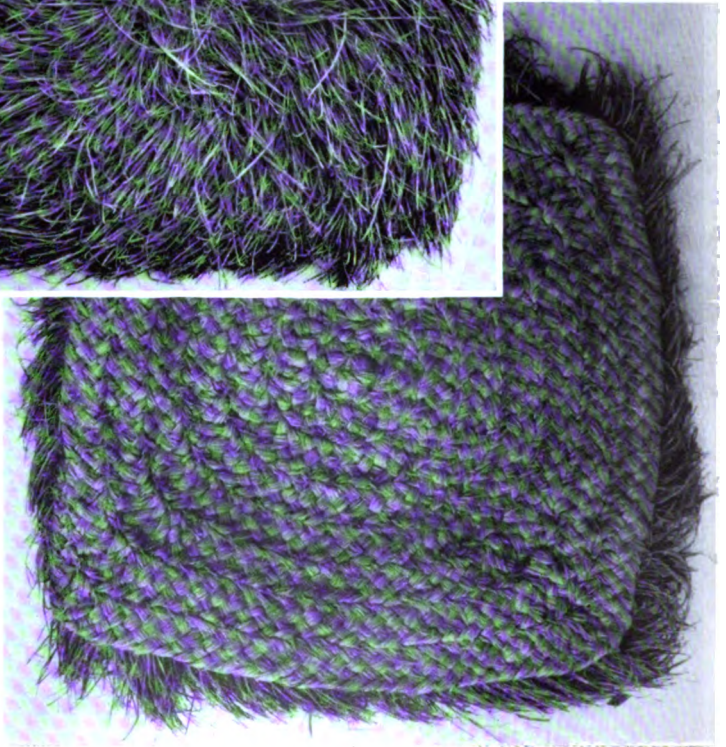


Fig. 55.



Figs. 55–57. Back of Spanish “Peludo” or *esparto* grass mat, Madrid 1960. Similar mat brought to Sweden by Clas Alströmer and incorporated by mistake into the Banks Collection with the ascription “Australia”.

